

d.c. gazette

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MAYORAL CANDIDATE CLIFF ALEXANDER. See story page 6. Photo by Richard Meyers Jr.

BUT CAN HE BUMP WALTER WASHINGTON?

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Funny figures on taxes

A NEW study by the Urban Institute purports to show that suburbanites more than pay their way in DC taxes. The report, in fact, indicates that the District receives \$42 million more per year in taxes from suburbanites than District residents provide suburban jurisdictions.

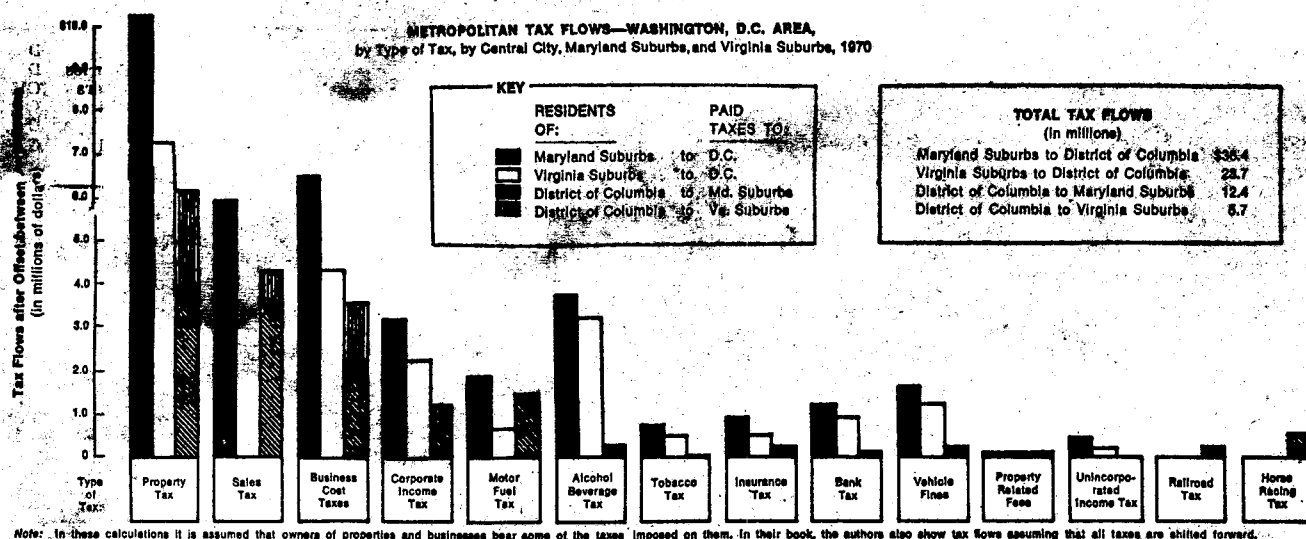
The Washington Post, with an 80% out-of-city readership, featured the story on page one under a headline "Commuters Seen Costing City Nothing." The story described the study as "the most sophisticated attempt so far to measure how much suburban residents received in services and contribute in taxes to the city government."

Sophisticated the report certainly is, but sophisticated no. It is based on several glaringly faulty presumptions that, when corrected, tell a quite different story than the Urban Institute suggests.

What the authors of the report argue is that since suburban residents pay \$60.1 million in taxes each year to the city while DC residents are only paying 18.1 million to the suburbs, suburbanites are more than covering their direct costs to the city. The authors also say: "We estimate that the federal payment, which approaches 25 per cent of the DC budget, much more than compensates for (the costs of the federal presence) and that the residents of the District, therefore, enjoy a fiscal gain at the expense of the rest of the country."

After making these two claims, the authors attempt to repair some of the damage using an elaborate and admittedly subjective calculation of the secondary benefits received by communities by expenditures in an adjoining jurisdiction. Thus, for reasons not particularly clear, suburbanites are supposed to enjoy the fruits of about \$21 million of DC's public schools expenditures. (Perhaps that's what it's worth to not have those black kids bussed past the District line.)

Under this hazy formula, the authors argue that the suburbs receive more benefits from the city than vice versa, but then go on to claim that the excessive federal payment offsets this "so that, on net, the District residents of all income classes are better off than suburban residents."



Since the benefits formula amounts to little more than wild guesses parading in the academic robes of statistics, it is easily and best ignored.

The same, unfortunately, can not be said of the report's arguments on tax flow and the federal payment. As the Post's play indicates, they will undoubtedly be used to prevent the District from getting its fair share out of either commuters or the Congress.

The basic error with the report's tax flow figures is that suburban investor and suburban commuter taxes are lumped together; then all are credited in favor of the commuter. In fact, many of the most important taxes paid by suburbanites have little or nothing to do with commuting. The prime example is the property tax (See chart). The fact that suburbanites pay the District over \$17 million in property taxes is totally irrelevant to questions of commuter cost and taxes. The fact that Mr. Pomponio or some other feudal lord from the suburbs may pay sizable property taxes has nothing to do with the problem of commuting. Mr. Pomponio, whatever his other liabilities to the city, does not personally contribute significantly to highway congestion or other commuter costs.

If you deduct from the Urban Institute report those taxes which have little or nothing to do with commuting — property, business cost, corporate profits, insurance and bank taxes — you discover that commuter tax revenues are only about \$35 million (rather than the \$60 million) the report suggests. Subtracting commuter-type taxes that DC residents pay in the suburbs you find that the District receives a net tax flow from the suburbs of only around \$17 million a year thanks to the suburban commuter. The city gets approximately \$130 per commuter per year or around 43¢ each day in return for full use of the city during more than half of an average effective day of 16 hours. To suggest that this covers expenditures is absurd.

Further, the report ignores another form of fiscal flow extremely important to the health of the city: the flow of equity and profits between jurisdictions. Extrapolating from the figures in the report it appears that suburbanites own approximately

\$1 billion worth of property in the District (and the rents, capital gains and tax write-offs that come with it) or \$643 million more than DC residents own in the suburbs. Further, a net of approximately \$81 million in corporate profits are removed from the District each year to help feed the suburban economy, at the expense of the city. Thus not only is the city subsidizing the suburban commuter, it is being heavily exploited and financially drained by the suburban investor.

The report's miscomprehension of the federal payment is equally grievous. It argues that since the payment more than covers the cost of the federal government, the city is getting a good deal and the country is getting a bad one. The District Building recently offered some countering figures, i.e.

- Loss of potential tax revenue due to the federal government property's tax exempt status: \$137 million.

- Loss of tax revenue due to the tax exempt status of commuters, diplomats and some federal officials: \$109 million.

- Loss of tax revenue that would accrue (other than property taxes) if private businesses occupied land now owned by the federal government: \$69 million.

- Total loss of tax revenue to the city: \$315 million.

Although the figures may be slightly inflated, they do not appear badly so. The property tax figures are right on and the income tax loss is based on less than \$1.50 a day for each non-paying occupant of the city. Thus, with the federal payment headed for \$230 million next fiscal year, it seems that the city continues to get less than its full share out of the federal government, although doing far better than it did, say 25 years ago.

In short, the Urban Institute report is inaccurate, misleading and dangerous. It will be used by the city's enemies, and while easily refuted, it is nonsense that will continue to be propelled by media whose major business interests are in the suburbs. The truth of the matter remains that the city still falls short of a fair federal payment, suburban commuters do not pay their way and further, millions in profit and hundreds of millions in wealth made in the District are directed to and hoarded in the suburbs.

A housing policy for those who live here

CARL BERGMAN

THE city government has the strangest attitude about housing. It seems to think that it's not the housing that's the problem but rather the people. They are never the ones that city planners and administrators want here. The people must be renovated and changed along with the homes they occupy.

It's like Lester Maddox's prison reform policy. His solution: A better class of prisoners. The way in which the District would solve housing problems is through a better class of owners and tenants.

The people planners want to live here are always the ones who have written the city off. There is a silly obsession with bringing back to the city the children of those who so willingly left a generation ago. They left not because of race so much as our failure to face racial problems. And they left not so much because suburbia was better but because homes were cheaper there and what mass

transit we had was being destroyed by free-ways.

Now we are coaxing their children back. So we spend \$3 billion on Metro, we plan convention centers and experiment with such expensive non-entities as Streets for People.

It's not that it's so bad to lure these folks back in. What is bad is the price those here pay to do it: the destruction of what low and moderate income housing that is left in the city, coupled with rising property taxes.

The policy also reneges on an old political deal. The deal involved what was known as "trickle-down" housing. What the middle class abandoned for suburbia became the property of those who remained in the city. City people were to be given a little more breathing room. Plain but substantial leftovers were redistributed.

But one man's plain Jane row dwelling

became a realtor's Victorian Town House. And the deal was off. The housing was too good to be occupied by those who could not afford to keep it good. So the solution was not to help those who managed to trickle into trickle-down housing, but to throw them back out again.

Adding to the confused result was the fact that those who did come back to the city were just as often victims as the people they displaced. Almost entirely white, generally with incomes in the \$20,000 category, they had the resources to buy in and renovate. That, however, was not the end. The realtors knew that where these folks came from were a lot more, often with higher incomes.

And so the new arrivals began to be pressured out by the same rising market that brought them into the neighborhood in the first place. The ones who benefited from all this were the real estate people who did such things as buy and sell homes to each other

to drive prices (and commissions) up. The other major beneficiary of course was the tax assessor who followed the market. It did not matter that the market was overinflated or that many people would not sell out regardless of the offer. Everyone was assessed as if he were a speculator. (Oddly, if everyone were a speculator there would be greater numbers of homes on the market and prices would probably go down.) So those who put work into their homes as a permanent place to live were taxed as if they were speculators.

Then there were the elderly and others who rented apartments. They too got squeezed out by the market pressures and condominium conversion. They too ended up departing again for parts unknown.

The real estate people will explain all of this to you in terms of "economics" or an updated version of social Darwinism — survival of the financially fittest. In reality it is almost a total result of federal mortgage and highway policies coupled with local planning dominated by commercial and real estate interests.

There are some ways out. Even local changes can have a very deep effect on problems that national policies have caused. Some new policies are in order:

- A recognition that the city must provide for and protect those who already are here rather than those who may live here in the future or who simply work here.

- A recognition that the city is in many ways already built. New development, even on vacant land, is not to be preferred to policies that help those who are here to stay here. The city must maintain what it has before it can or should think about adding more.

- A recognition that we have a severe housing shortage in almost all income ranges. There is not one single road or other public works project that is more needed than housing. Nor can we waste older buildings which through proper taxing and zoning policies can be made cheaper to preserve than to tear down.

- It is always better to help people stay where they are than to make them move either by direct or indirect pressure. There is really no such thing as relocation assistance when there is no place to relocate.

- A recognition that the city is unique. Like an individual a city must be appreciated not for what it can do for others but instead for what it is in and of itself. A city's physical make-up, especially one as attractive as DC's, must be protected and appreciated as an unique and distinctive creation of several different generations of greatly diverse people.

These policies lead to ideas for legislation:

- Local hearings in each of the areas of the city on their particular problems. The last time the City Council ventured out of the District building for any extensive community hearings was in 1969. In Capitol East, Adams Morgan and Dupont Circle the problem is of owners and renters of single family homes being displaced by market pressures. West of the Park it's condominium conversions, though it's not exclusively a West of the Park problem.

- Require the city to keep track of those who are being displaced as a result of private market actions. We just don't know.

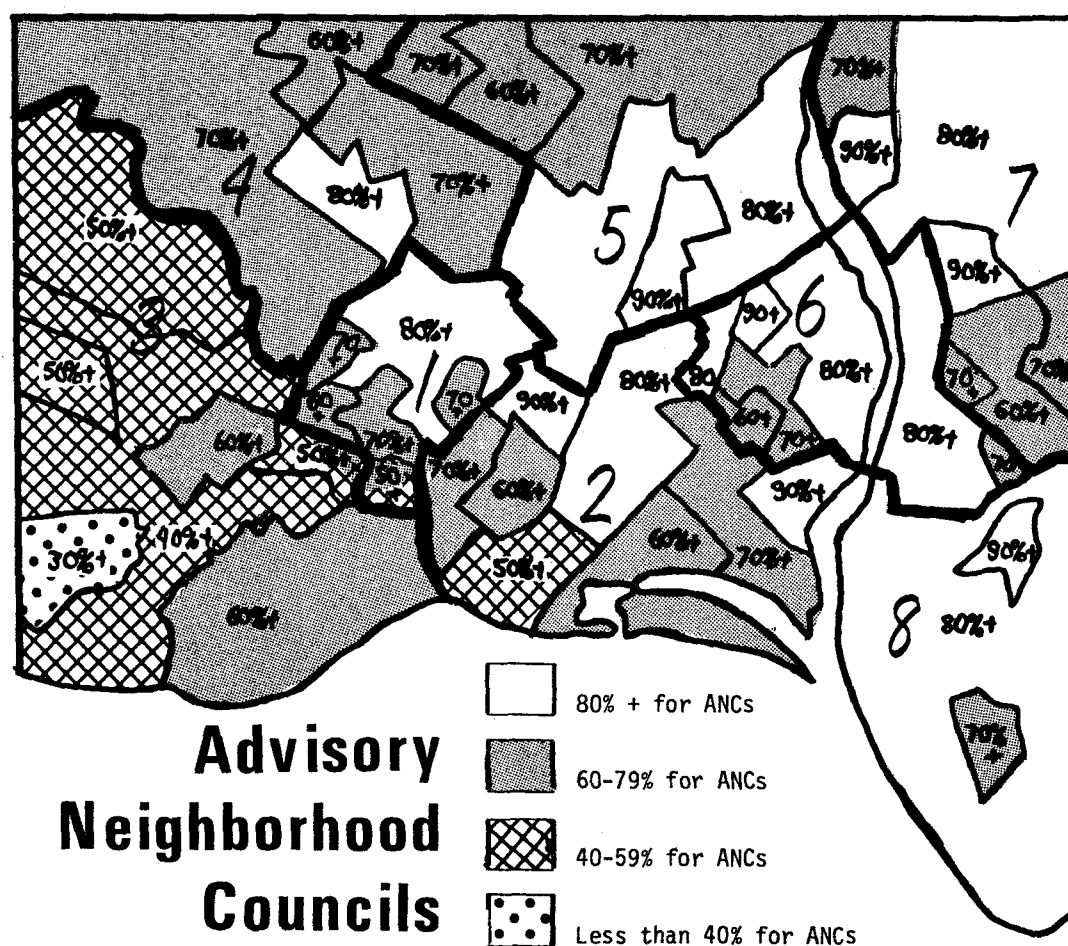
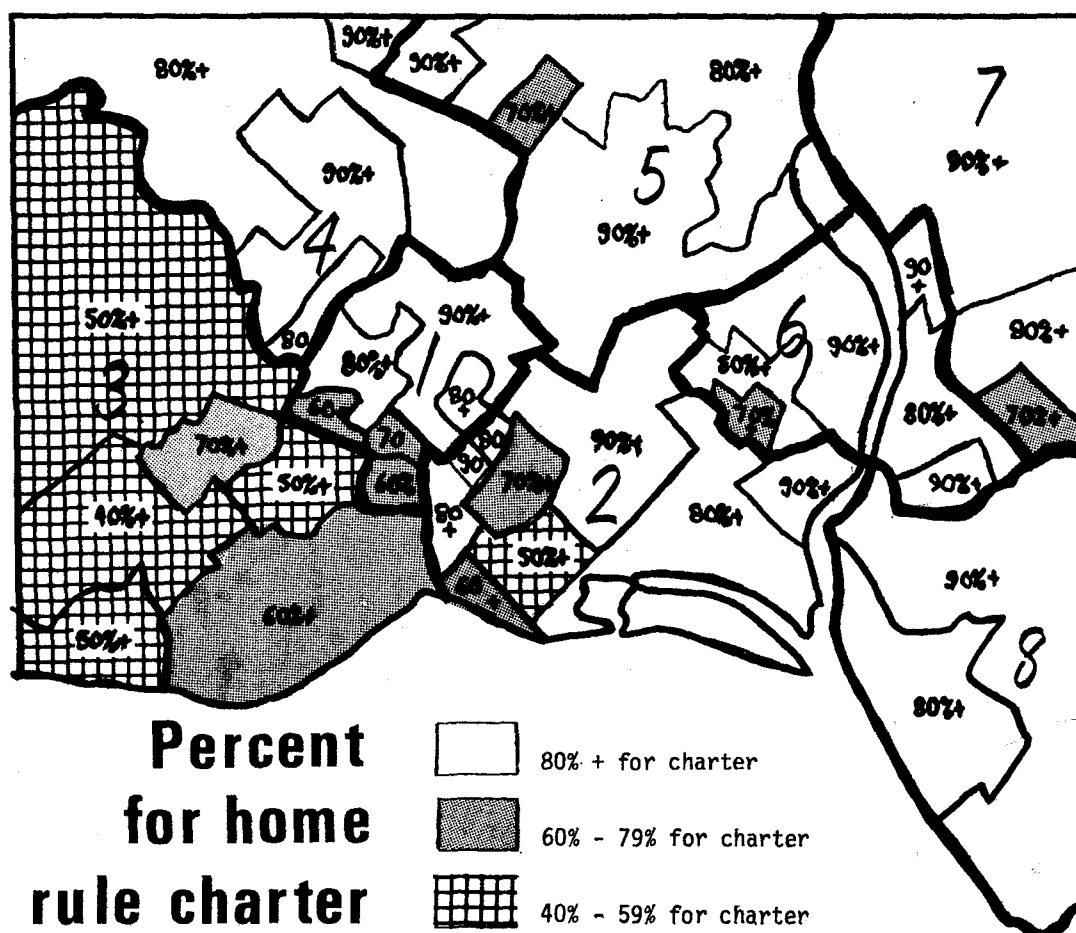
- Put the city in the business of keeping housing alive. Homesteading, i.e. letting people buy abandoned houses for \$1 and renovate them, is good. It is limited though in the numbers of homes that can be done over and the number of people with the skills, desire and money to do the work. Better would be to put money into D.C. Code Section 5-313, passed in 1906 when T.R. was president. A sound bit of Progressive Era thinking, 5-313 provides that the city, after due notice, may enter any house in violation of housing codes and repair it as a tax lien on the property. The program should be confined to rental properties, lest it become another way of driving homeowners out.

- Property tax reform, basically as proposed by the Rees bill, reinstating the city's home exemption which saved homeowners and renters up to \$10 million in taxes last year but which the District Government recently abolished at the demand of commercial property owners. Assessment increases would be limited to 20 per cent, and those who improved their homes would not be penalized for the work they did through higher assessments.

- Rent controls with increases allowed only for directly accountable rises in costs.

- If the hearings justify it, and they probably will, a six month freeze on the sale of rental properties in Capitol East,

REFERENDUM RESULTS



Ward Totals

WARD	CHARTER		NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCILS		TURNOUT
	Yes	No	Yes	No	
1	7833	1232	6976	1885	29%
	86%	14%	79%	21%	
2	8013	1681	7050	2565	31%
	83%	17%	73%	27%	
3	11461	8230	10235	9467	42%
	58%	42%	52%	48%	
4	14834	1771	12431	4174	45%
	89%	11%	75%	25%	
5	11808	1178	10097	2689	41%
	91%	9%	79%	21%	
6	8647	924	7717	1639	34%
	90%	10%	82%	18%	
7	11170	1109	9754	2347	41%
	91%	9%	81%	19%	
8	5375	393	5005	816	27%
	93%	7%	86%	14%	
TOTAL	79141	16518	69265	25582	37%
	83%	17%	78%	27%	

Adams-Morgan etc., except to owners' relatives or tenants, accompanied by a city-wide mortgage subsidy program.

- Condominium conversions also should be frozen for six months. The freezes would cool the market down and give the city a breathing spell during which to work out sounder approaches and financing plans to prevent the destruction of the rental market.

- A permanent system of licensing of those who convert condominiums or speculate in housing with prohibitions on activities which cover up ownership or tend to inflate the market beyond economic demands.

- The Council should consider a law which would declare that anyone who has rented a home for more than X number of years must be given the right of first refusal, and first call on any mortgage money the city comes up with. Condominium conversions, as in New York, should require a certain percentage (at least a majority) of the tenants' approval.

- The city should match the efforts of private non-profit housing corporations either dollar for dollar or in equivalent goods and services. As things now stand, the city does nothing, nor does it spend any of its capital funds to help housing.

- A final note about money. The District government is not poor. There has not been a single capital project that the District has gone for in the past five years that has been defeated for lack of money. A city which can spend \$47 million on Incinerator Number 5, which can fund a stadium that has never retired one cent of its principle is not poor. A city which can give away \$17 million in property tax reductions to its commercial property owners, or which proposes to spend close to \$100 million on a dubious convention center can do much more than it has to house its people.

Walter Washington's latest proposal to shuffle the chairs about by creating a giant city department of Housing and Community Development will do about as much good for housing as the creation of the Department of Human Resources did for people on welfare — none. The proposal is simply another way to waste time while appearing to be doing something.

One thing is certain, the first step is for the city to give up trying to replace its people with a seemingly more desirable and delectable population and help the one it has already got.

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1974 D.C. GAZETTE AWARD WINNERS

THE INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE DONE THE MOST FOR THE CITY

Julius Hobson Sr. — Gilbert Hahn — Barbara Sizemore

THE ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE DONE THE MOST FOR THE CITY

DC Statehood Party — Adams-Morgan Organization

THE INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE DONE THE LEAST FOR THE CITY

Walter Washington — Richard Nixon — Walter Fauntroy — Joel Broyhill — James Banks — William Natcher

THE ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE DONE THE LEAST FOR THE CITY

Board of Trade — Redevelopment Land Agency — U.S. Congress — Metro

THE INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE DONE THE MOST FOR THE NATION

Ralph Nader — John Sirica — Sam Ervin — John Gardner — Robert Woodward & Carl Bernstein — Archibald Cox — Richard Nixon

THE ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE DONE THE MOST FOR THE NATION

Common Cause — Public Citizens Inc. — Washington Post — Senate Watergate Committee — National Organization for Women

BEST INDIVIDUALS IN LOCAL MEDIA

William Raspberry — Robert Woodward & Carl Bernstein

BEST LOCAL MEDIA

Washington Post — Daily Rag — Evening Star-News

BEST NATIONAL MEDIA

Washington Post — New York Times — CBS

BEST INDIVIDUALS IN LOCAL ARTS

Robert Hooks — Sam Gilliam

BEST INSTITUTIONS IN LOCAL ARTS

Black Repertory Theatre — Arena Stage — Smithsonian

BEST PLAYS

Inherit the Wind — River Niger — Jumpers — Raisin

BEST MOVIES

The Sting — The Emigrants — The New Land — Sleeper

BEST RESTAURANTS

Jean-Pierre — Omega — Jacqueline's — Calvert Cafe

Old winners come back for more

ON this page are the winners of the Gazette's 1974 Readers' Awards. While several other categories were included in the questionnaire, such as best books, there was insufficient consensus to name any winners. This was especially true in the section where we asked people to choose favorites in the upcoming local elections. Even among a presumably aware readership, most seemed not to have reached any firm conclusions.

This is our third annual survey and the third time that Julius Hobson Sr. has come out on top. It is also the third time that Gilbert Hahn has shown up in the top five. Last year's co-favorites, Peter Craig and Hilda Mason did not show up this year.

This is the third time the DC Statehood Party has been among the winners but a first for the Adams-Morgan Organization.

Among the losers, Walter Washington has moved steadily up from sixth place in 1972, 5th place in 1973 to first place in 1974. Congratulations, Walter. A preoccupied Richard Nixon, last year's leading loser, has slipped to second place. Obviously, he has not spent enough time on DC problems. Using a type of reverse logic, however, readers chose Nixon as one of those who had done most for the nation, although clearly unintentionally. 1973 losers Jack Nevius and Charles Diggs failed to make the list this year.

Among organizations that have done the least for the city, the Board of Trade sewed up first place for the third time and Congress made it into the top three for the third time. The House District Committee made it off the losers list for the first time, however, and the Redevelopment Land Agency jumped from seventh to second place. New on the list was Metro.

Common Cause was the runaway favorite for best national organization while Ralph Nader easily won first place as the individual who had done most for the nation.

The Washington Post was considered the best local and national media and Bill Raspberry came back for a third time as the

outstanding individual in the local media. Incidentally, as usual, all votes for the Gazette or Gazette writers were discarded.

For a second time, Robert Hooks was named the outstanding individual in local arts and his hard-pressed Black Repertory Theatre replaced the previous favorite, the Circle Theatres, as the outstanding institution in local arts. For the third time the Arena Stage came in second but the Smithsonian moved up from 9th place last year to third place this year.

The Sting won the movie category easily. Among restaurants, only the Omega and the Calvert Cafe made a return appearance on the list.

Asked what radio stations they listened to (there were spaces for three choices), readers WGMS first with 32%, a ten percent increase from last year. WTOP, WMAL and WETA all finished with 20%, which is about where they were last year. 19% listed WHUR and WGTB (a 10% jump for WGTB) and 7% said WAMU-FM.

Asked what other publications they read, the results went like this:

Washington Post	78%
Daily Rag	23%
Newsweek	20%
Star-News	17%
Time	16%
Washingtonian	13%
New York Times	13%
Ms	8%
New Republic	7%

Washington Post readership was up 16% over last year and the Daily Rag, which has greatly increased its free distribution in the past year, was up 13 percentage points. Star-News readership dropped 8 points and the New Republic 9 points. The others were about as they were last year.

The most popular part of the Gazette continues to be its local features (87% read them) and the calendar (69%). Sixty-seven percent read the national features regularly while the various arts columns have an av-

SLEEPER IN THE CHARTER

Buried deep inside the home rule bill is a radical provision that could be the most important part of the whole measure. Section 738 provides that the Advisory Neighborhood Councils "shall have such other powers and duties as may be provided by act of Council." In short, the ANCs could be changed from advisory bodies to working neighborhood governments by simple act of the council.

erage readership of 42%. The most popular arts column is Joel Siegel's film reviews (63%) followed by the book reviews (50%) and music columns (46%). Notes from the Real World is read by 63%, Swampoodle's Report by 48% and Action Notes by 50%.

Eleven percent of our readers responding are 25 or under, 31% or 26-30, 20% are 31-35, 18% 36-40 and 20% over 40. At least one reader is 75.

Forty-one percent of those responding reported a family income over \$25,000; 15% had a family income \$20-25,000; 9% were in the \$15-20,000 bracket; 11% earned \$10-15,000; 11% earned \$5-10,000; and 13% earned less than \$5,000. Fifty-two percent said they owned their own home and the same percentage was married (with an average of 1.8 children apiece).

(Note: these questions were asked only of DC subscribers)

Finally, in our presidential poll, the results came out thus:

Walter Mondale	24%
Ted Kennedy	21%
None/Don't Know	19%
Shirley Chisholm	9%
George McGovern	8%
Charles Percy	7%
Elliot Richardson	6%
Ralph Nader	6%
John Gardner	5%
Ron Dellums	5%
Edmund Muskie	5%
William Proxmire	5%

(Note: readers were given three choices)

Eighty percent of the readers favored handling Richard Nixon by impeachment. Ten percent thought he ought to resign, the rest thought he should serve out his term or suggest other (and sometimes novel) solutions to the problem.

Fifty-one percent agreed with the idea of forced resignation of the president and new elections similar to European parliamentary systems following failure to win a vote of confidence.

Thirty-five percent agreed that the movement was dead, 45% disagreed and the rest didn't know or made a comment such as "What movement?" (If you've got to ask, it's dead.) One reader said the movement was merely temporarily constipated. Another said it died like a flower - scattering its seeds everywhere.

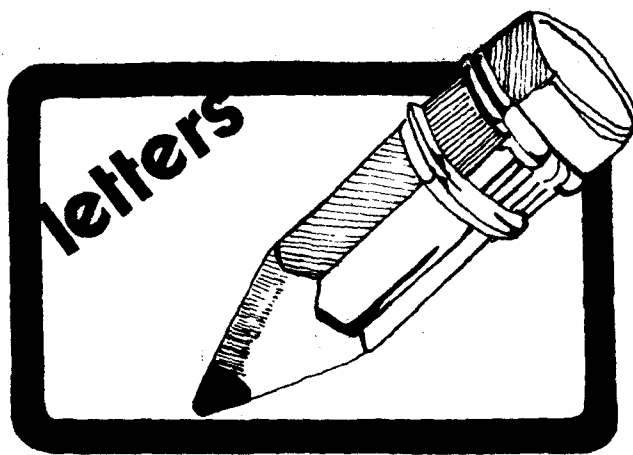
Asked to identify their political beliefs, many readers checked several boxes, producing this result below:

Liberal	47%
Socialist	27%
Radical	26%
Populist	22%
Moderate	18%
Anarchist	6%
Apolitical	6%
Conservative	5%

Also among are readers are at least one each of the following: Reactionary; radical Christian; Individualist; Feminist; Dadaist; Libertarian; Humanist; Apathetic Liberal; Jeffersonian Anti-Federalist; Worried; Prophetic (Jewish Tradition); Communist Pacifist; Capitalist; and a "objective-oriented constitutionalist willing to revolt in extreme circumstances."

NOTE TO LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

We don't have the staff to cover every hearing before the City Council and School Board. But we are interested in what you have to say. Please make sure that we receive a copy of your written testimony. Mail to DC Gazette, 109 8th St. NE, DC 20002.



VOTING CHARTS

IF Home Rule is to be a success, a prime requisite must be elected officers who are well qualified and to get such qualified personnel, the first sine qua non is a well-informed electorate.

To help achieve a well-informed body of voters, I propose that throughout the city, charts giving the names and photos of the candidates, their pertinent qualifications and stands on the major issues to be posted outdoors in all areas where large numbers of people could ordinarily see them daily. Furthermore, I suggest that these charts be attractive, of sturdy stock and be identical throughout and that this procedure be used before every election.

I further propose that the old method, whereby each candidate plastered whole neighborhoods with unsightly papers and posters, be declared illegal. To say the least, not only does it deface and mar the city, but it enables candidates with more money to win over poorer candidates.

MARCIA ZUESSE

BICENTENNIAL COUNTERTOURS

OCCASIONAL items in the news indicate that intensive and elaborate plans are under way for the Centennial in the Nation's Capitol. Visitors are expected not only from all parts of the United States, but from overseas as well. And no cost will be spared to make an impressive showing.

Nothing? Well - almost.

The glittering facade will shut out the less savory aspects of life in Washington. It is doubtful that the rubble from the riots of 1967 will be shown. Now will the unrested stores and the decaying houses with broken windows - condemned as uninhabitable be on display. But that too is a part of this city. It is a large area with houses - but no homes; stores with no place to shop; people and no jobs.

A movement seems to be under way to make visitors aware of the blighted areas. Posters, hand bills and other ways are being discussed to let our guests know that all is not beautiful...that our officials who can get money to put on a show have less talent when it comes to providing for the needs of poor people - including decent housing. This side show may tarnish the main production - but it may also serve a purpose.

J.N.

THE DC GAZETTE ON MICROFILM

THE DC Gazette is available on microfilm at Howard University and the Library of Congress in DC; at the Enoch Pratt Free Library and University of Maryland in Baltimore, University of Maryland, College Park, Prince Georges Co. Memorial Library, Hyattsville and St. Mary's College, St. Mary's City in Maryland; and at the University of Virginia Library in Charlottesville, Virginia. If you are in Berlin, Germany you can read it at the John F. Kennedy Institut für Nordamerikastudien, and in about 100 other libraries throughout the United States, Canada and numerous other countries.

GINO'S STOPPED

GINO'S, Inc. has decided to drop its plans to move into the site of the former Crystal City Restaurant. This decision culminates a three month long battle between concerned local residents and the corporation. Perhaps the first victory to bring young and old, radical and conservative neighbors together, it came as a welcome surprise.

Two community organizations, the Ad Hoc Committee to Prevent Ginocide and the North Dupont Community Association, were largely responsible for a campaign that called on all community resources, information channels, and individuals' enthusiasm. The philosophy behind the groups' actions was that "a community has the right to determine its own fate," i.e. a community has the right to stand up in protest against the invasion of plastic fast-food, fast-money chains, that introduce litter problems, that esthetically offend residents, that drive out small family businesses, and that encourage the further objectionable invasion of residential neighborhoods by office buildings and high-rise apartments.

We won. We won through petitioning, through the tedious negotiations of the NDCA, through publicity in Washington, Philadelphia, and California newspapers and T.V. stations, through picketing Gino's annual stockholders' convention in King of Prussia, Pa., through letters, through constant contact with Gino's officials, through a lawsuit filed by local businessmen and landowners, through picketing an already operational Gino's downtown, through the support of City Councilman Tedson Myers, and through the support of the Jackson Square Ad Hoc Committee from Greenwich Village, N.Y.C. whose attempts to keep a McDonald's fast-food chain from moving into their neighborhood ended in a community victory two weeks ago.

Our future plans include finding an alternative lessee for the Connecticut Avenue site. From the beginning the community has not wanted to hurt the owner, Peter Chaconas, financially. Prospects for the project are now solidifying in that we have found three alternatives lessees, not counting the restaurateurs who have approached Mr. Chaconas individually.

The City Council, at a meeting May 4th, decided to start work on legislation that would

BOOKS BY GAZETTE WRITERS

SAM SMITH

CAPTIVE CAPITAL: COLONIAL LIFE IN MODERN WASHINGTON. Indiana University Press. 1974.

RICHARD KING

THE PARTY OF EROS. Dell paperback. 1973.

JAMES RIDGEWAY

THE LAST PLAY: THE STRUGGLE TO MONOPOLIZE THE WORLD'S ENERGY RESOURCES. Dutton. 1973. \$10.

JOEL SIEGEL

VAL LEWTON: THE REALITY OF TERROR. Viking Press 1973. \$6.95 hardback. \$2.75 paperback. Available at Discount Books and Brentano's.

ARMANDO RENDON

CHICANO MANIFESTO: THE HISTORY AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE SECOND LARGEST MINORITY IN AMERICA. MacMillan 1971. \$7.95 hardback. \$1.95 paperback.

PATRICIA GRIFFITH

THE FUTURE IS NOT WHAT IT USED TO BE. Simon Schuster. 1970.

CHUCK STONE

TELL IT LIKE IT IS. Trident 1968
BLACK POLITICAL POWER IN AMERICA. Bobbs-Merrill 1968, hardback. Dell 1969, paperback.
KING STRUT. Bobbs-Merrill 1970.

LARRY CUBAN

TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE: TEACHING IN THE INNER CITY. Free Press 1970.
YOUTH AS A MINORITY. National Council for Social Studies. 1972
BLACK MAN IN AMERICA. Scott, Foresman 1964. Revised 1971.
PROMISE OF AMERICA. Philip Roden co-author. Scott, Foresman 1971.

make a distinction between a fast-food chain and a family restaurant, and that would require that the community be consulted if a fast-food chain were planning on moving into a neighborhood.

The Ad Hoc Committee to Prevent Gino-cide

now has the goal of preventing further fast-food chain development in the Dupont Circle neighborhood. As nasty rumours start popping up about a McDonald's moving in a block away from the Crystal City site, the Gino-cide forces, this time with an organization still in motion, are preparing for a shorter battle.

Better yet, just a warning: MC DONALD'S BEWARE! The residents of the Dupont Circle and Greenwich Village neighborhoods have proven that people working together can stop a corporation; and build a community we want to live in.

AD HOC COMMITTEE TO PREVENT GINO-CIDE

The campaign begins

SAM SMITH



ONE of the first things I noticed about home rule is that various people started being nice to me. It's an occupational hazard of political reporting that I have largely managed to avoid. It gives a sense of security to know that while you might be ignored and your phone calls might remain unanswered, you at least don't have to be constantly on your guard against seduction by some politician on the make and ever vigilant against becoming the unwitting accomplice of some official's image-making campaign or foray into political mendacity. As long as everyone with any power either pays you no mind or treats you with hearty distrust you are safe.

Well, it looks as though those halcyon days are over. I've experienced more solicitude in the past few weeks than in the last eight years combined. A whole new social class has arisen in Washington overnight, dedicated to moving upwards from being Vicariously Important People to Very Important People and no potential help is to be ignored. Some have waited years, even decades, for the opportunity and they are throwing themselves into the effort like participants in a 25th reunion football game, hoping that some mysterious power of reincarnation will overcome the debilitating effects of age. They are dangerous to themselves and others, yet retain enough of the old spirit to appear admirable even while also a bit pitiful.

Others are former colonial administrators turning to the people for the first time for support, banking on mass amnesia and attempting with bumbling diligence to discover and capture a constituency.

Still others have toiled the best they could against, within and about the old system and approach the new one with the enthusiasm of a jazz musician who no longer has to rely upon gigs with house bands to support himself.

And finally there are those who never thought it was possible to matter and now believe otherwise.

It doesn't seem to make much difference that there are only thirteen positions theoretically up for grabs (plus an uncertain number of seats on the school board which is about to suffer a worse drop-out rate than the school system it oversees), or that there are even fewer in fact. As long as the rules have not yet been set, anyone can hope.

And so they are wandering through town, smiling, telephoning, getting their friends to sign up before another friend who is also running gets to them, writing letters to the editors, taking positions marked firm, pretending that they really know what they are doing, figuring the odds, going to coffees and feeling optimistic when eight people show up, and being nice to reporters from small newspapers.

Most of them mean well. That handful who are playing the big money, big power games are still machines of one backed by transient and unreliable allies. What passes for a slate this fall may evaporate by February. Only the Commissioner has the power to make people move consistently contrary to their druthers and even he faces the prospect of a council that will be uncomfortably independent. When you consider that the biggest threat the District Building has yet devised against Walter Fauntroy is a potential candidacy by Jim Banks, you realize that power in this town will remain dispersed for at least a while longer. DC's young but strong tradition of personal politics helps to keep the machine from the door. Every ward hack is a potential coup in the making and, as Marion Barry has found on the school board, every elected body is composed of as many factions as there are seats.

The other great defense against machine politics is the Board of Elections. Until someone figures out how the board counts ballots, it will be impossible to learn how to manipulate them. On referendum election night a television reporter began officiously read-

ing returns only to discover that the negative votes were missing from the tally he had been given. He promised to come back with more complete results, which he did after the sports only to read some figures so obviously erroneous that he was forced to stop in mid-sentence and assure the viewers that details would follow.

Not content to struggle with the still monumental job of getting the vote straight, the board this year introduced a new series of extraneous numbers into its calculations. Voters arriving at the polls were asked their social security number. Without identifying herself, Jean Lewton called up WMAL to let them know what was going on and the man in the newsroom responded unobjectively, "What are those shits up to now?"

The ACLU rightfully pointed out that the board had no business correlating social security numbers with who votes. Since the board has in the past invited the police to check out petitions, it is easy to suspect some extra-democratic purpose behind this latest move, but it is more likely the result of the sort of random inspiration that is the hallmark of the board.

Some months prior to the election, I went down to the board to copy down some old results. As I was working on the figures, a board worker told me I would have to continue my efforts at a table in the District Building hallway since the one at which I was seated was needed. When I returned from copying long lists of figures in the dimly lit corridor I found the worker seated where I had been - munching on a ham sandwich. Something other than a totalitarian spirit obviously guides the place. When I find out what it is, I'll let you know.

In truth, the board is doing a lot better than it used to. It was actually possible to go down several days after the election and buy a xerox copy of the returns for around 75¢, cutting more than a week off the previous record.

The election itself proved what everyone knew. Home rule was never in doubt and much of the pre-election hoopla seemed directed more at creating an atmosphere of good feeling about the present administration of the District Building than at preparing people for the hard choices that waited around the corner. Hatched city officials and District Building candidates got thousands of dollars worth of free exposure on television and radio under the guise of urging voters to do what they were going to do anyway. And out in Ward Six, Nadine Winter, director of Hospitality House and candidate for the council, took time off from her job to drive around doing her nonpartisan civic duty in a car marked "Nadine Winter Urge [sic] You Vote Today."

Because the Statehood Party had taken a position against the charter, it also got a lot of free airtime, which helped elevate the debate towards the future rather than the past as would have been the case if the negative position had been argued by a bunch of retired colonels from Spring Valley. The party helped to keep the lid on phony euphoria and to remind people of how much more remains to be done.

The victory of the advisory neighborhood

councils was less predictable but over the long run, perhaps more significant. When Washington lost its territorial form of government in the 1870s, a network of community organizations sprung up to fill the void created by the lack of real politics. A century of using neighborhood groups to defend against the indifference or abuse of the colonial city administration has prepared Washington well for the current trend towards decentralization of urban power. The ANCs, weak as they will be initially, offer Washington an opportunity to take a national lead in neighborhood government. The law permits the council to delegate broad - and not just advisory - powers to these councils. Hopefully the new bodies will force the council to do just that.

THE BIG ONE

As soon as the results were in, there began the rush to "formally announce" candidacies, which is a ritual not dissimilar to a woman formally announcing her pregnancy seven months into the event.

Clifford Alexander's announcement provided a pleasant surprise, since the advance reports from those who had seen him in action made it seem likely that he would fold in New Haven. From a variety of observers of different political persuasions came the consistent word that Alexander was falling flat. A bomb. Unimpressed. Another Channing Phillips.

Perhaps Alexander had heard those reports as well, but in any case, at his coming-out news conference and at a rally later that evening he showed little signs of the sort of political self-destruction that brought the Phillips campaign crashing down. He made a presentable case against the Commissioner and for himself without condescension or excessive self-aggrandizement. For someone who has done so little locally, he has engaged in a lawyer-like effort to learn his new case. He relied heavily on that favorite tactic of new breed politicians - cite enough facts and problems and people won't notice you haven't offered solutions, but even so he was far more specific than Del Lewis, who is running for city council at large and who held a news conference the same day that was so platitudinous you would never guess that Lewis had a better record and familiarity with local problems than Alexander.

After hearing Lewis you felt cheated. He appeared worse than he probably is, while Alexander appeared better than he probably is. What I had feared, that Alexander would attempt to play the role of TV host to the alienated instead of making an honest attempt to represent that alienation, may not prove valid. It's too early to tell, but over the past few days I've tried out some revisionist thinking about Alexander on myself and while I haven't convinced myself of it, I might as well try it out on you as well, to wit:

The most serious political problem in DC is Walter Washington. If Walter Washington wins (and especially if he wins big) we'll be in for four more years of toadying to the White House and the Board of Trade, destruction of neighborhoods, inaction on problems such as housing, government by political mashed potatoes like Ben Gilbert and Julian Dugas, showboating capital expenditures and snowballing operating expenses, decision by delay, passive non-resistance to police excesses and a general attitude of let them eat cherry blossoms. Any man trying to build a \$400,000 campaign chest is not looking for independence even if, as Joe Danzansky put it, some of it will come in "quarters from school children." ("Hi, this is George Allen urging all you kids to cough up in class...")

Arrayed against the Man's man are two individuals of slight local credentials but with considerable intelligence and independence: Alexander, running in the Democratic primary, and Sam Harris, running as an independent in the general election. So far, Harris looks more impressive but at this point their candidacies are not mutually exclusive. New, untried, and unknown, they are exceedingly vulnerable to the barbs of the

politically chic. But to what end? Merely to reinforce Walter Washington's assumption that as long as he plays ball with the non-resident powerful, he can rest assured that the residentpowerless will never unite successfully against him. He won't have to tear Alexander or Harris apart; we'll do it for him.

I confess that I started down that road. What stopped me was a Potomac feature story on Alexander. As a connoisseur of Washington Post knife jobs, I suddenly realized that Alexander was one of us after all. Here was the Post saying in its cute way what many were beginning to think about Alexander — that he was racial transvestite, a black who couldn't get the kid on the court to let him play basketball with him. If I had said it I would have thought it clever. Reading it in Potomac, it sounded different. The bastards are out to get him, I thought, and make us do their dirty work for him. You don't go to bat for Sam Yette when he gets kicked out of Newsweek, represent the black reporters at the Post and on top of that run against the man the Post put in office and expect to get away with it.

So the words of old Mr. Poley, my high school English teacher, came back to me. He told us about the theatre (I suppose he got it from someone else but we always believed he made it up) that you had to have a "willing suspension of disbelief."

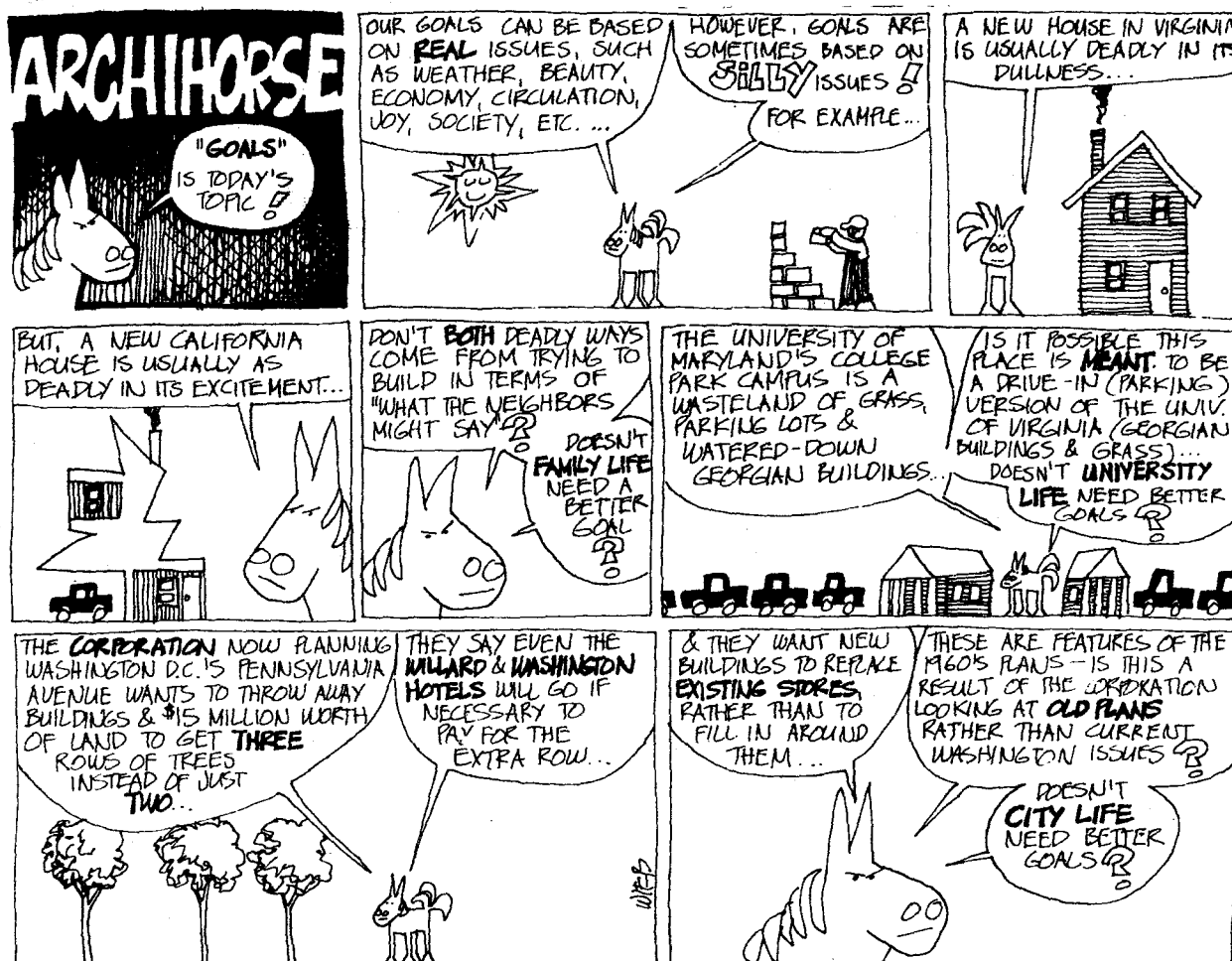
That's what we need with Alexander and Harris. After all, unlike that secret hoard of knowledgeable, ideologically correct, stylistically satisfying, long-standing friends of the city against whom we are tempted to judge Alexander and Harris but who never materialized, these two at least are getting into the ring. They are real. Walter Washington is real. Our wishes, unfortunately, are not. So until the contenders give us cause to do otherwise, it makes sense to compare them with Papa Walt and not Ron Dellums, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X or Nkrumah, none of whom are registered let alone running.

While the Post already shows signs of letting Alexander twist slowly in the wind, the Star-News appears ready to treat the race with a certain amount of independence. This reflects not so much nobler motives on the part of the Star's owners but simply a stronger tradition of letting political reporters report what they see without making excessive deletions and editing the transcript. As a result, readers of the Star were treated to a livelier and more useful coverage of the campaign than that found in the Post. Anyone interested in what happens between now and November is well advised to take out at least a six month's subscription to the Star-News.

THE CHAIRMAN RACE

The race for city council chairman will center on two individuals who, unlike Alexander and Harris, have lengthy local records. They are both flawed, the difference between the two being that Sterling Tucker has been wrong two-thirds of the time while Marion Barry has been right two-thirds of the time. Both ambitious to a fault, both threatened by their own manipulative abilities, Barry comes out strongly ahead on the simple grounds that he is far more likely to end up doing the correct thing than Sterling. While the school board, under Barry's leadership, has come under massive criticism, much of it has been based on the assumption that you can overturn decades of educational decadence in a tidy and polite manner. The present board has in all probability led the school system around the corner. Its budgetary system is in better shape; it has been willing to experiment in some fairly imaginative ways (cf. the Hawthorne School arrangement, the combining of schools in Northwest and the new arts high school) and it may at last have found a school superintendent (albeit with no help from Barry) who can survive if not quite thrive. Barry can be blamed for many things, including his handling of the teachers strike, his treatment of Ms. Sizemore (although Ms. Sizemore appears to treat the board just as badly) and the lack of progress towards decentralization and changes in teacher credential requirements. But though under Barry, the progress of the school system has been sometimes excruciatingly modest for the first time one can remember there is progress.

Tucker, on the other hand, has spent an extraordinary proportion of his time on the City Council and Zoning Commission serving



the worst vested interests of the city. He has seldom lifted a finger against the exploitation of the city by realtors and developers, he has watched with benign neglect as city expenditures have risen unchecked, and instead of defending the interests of the District against the policy and financial excesses of Metro, he has contented himself with talking about adding black jobs in subway contracts. His handling of the rent control measure has been a masterpiece of procrastination. If Barry were chairman, it's likely we'd have a rent control measure by now and fairly good one at that. Mad as Barry makes you at times, on the big ones he still tends to come through.

AT LARGE

The at-large race is still unformed. At this point the only potential candidate worth getting excited about other than the obvious first choice of Julius Hobson is Gil Hahn. Hahn has toyed with running for chairman. This would be a mistake. He'd be a worse chairman of an elected council than he was of the old appointed one. His forte is not interpersonal relations and he'd work best on his own as a member. Hahn has done a hell of a lot of good for the city over the past couple of years with his tax, transportation and environmental law suits — enough to mitigate memories of the old freeway-building, witness-arresting Hahn of yesteryear. God loves reformed sinners; voters should give them credit as well.

IN THE WARDS

The ward races are still in labor as well. In Ward One, Tedson Meyers has become the most improved politician this side of Gil Hahn (how many fellow Gino's protesters recalled that he managed Joe Yeldell's campaign and cast the sole council vote in favor of the notorious metropolitan intelligence group?) But his role in stopping fast food establishments in Dupont Circle or a convention center in Mount Vernon Square does not erase the impression that Meyers sometimes talks a better position than he votes (e.g. his failure to push for the Rees bill on property tax reform) and you often are uncertain whether Meyers is buying a position or merely just looking.

He will be opposed by, among others, Armando Rendon, who could provide latino Washington with some independent representation (while doing well by the rest of the ward as well) rather than being a patron hand-picked by the District Building. The author of the Chicano Manifesto, and a sometimes contributor to this paper (that's for disclosure purposes, not a credential), Rendon has been an assiduous worker in his neighborhood. He recently quit the Democratic Central Committee to become active in the Statehood Party and is about the best member of that body the party could have attracted.

In Ward Two, the Statehood Party has its politically strongest ward candidate in

Jo Butler, who combines a militant approach to issues with uncommon sense, plus an energy that wears one out just observing it. From the Adams-Morgan Organization to prison reform, from getting bad cops kicked out of her neighborhood to the human relations commission, Jo Butler is not only everywhere but there in a purposeful and useful way. She is beautiful, and next to Hobson, the best candidate the Statehood Party has fielded so far.

Ward Three is a mess. Even the Ward Statehood Party has two candidates — Gwen Reiss and Carleen Joyce.

The Democrats have five candidates running, with Polly Shackleton out in front at the moment. Polly is vulnerable; she hasn't done much for the ward and has been strangely quiet on some important issues affecting Northwest such as the development controversies. But no strong opponent has yet developed. Each of her three major competitors has a slice of the ward's non-establishment vote which, even if combined, doesn't amount to much. Joel Joseph, a lawyer who has done a lot of work on environmental and consumer issues, is perhaps the most interesting of the three, but Kay McGrath, with her record on growth issues, and Mary Lela Sherburne, with her extensive background in local education, have appealing qualities as well. I like Joseph because he not only seems to have his head in the right place but, as his very sensible suggestion on condominium conversion found in Political Forum this issue indicates, he knows how to use his head in the sort of detailed, logical fashion that is required of a good local legislator.

Whoever wins will have to run against Abe Rosenfield in all probability and I'm taking bets that Abe will come out on top. Abe works hard and gives the nervous majority west of the park a feeling that somehow he won't let them take it all. Besides he owns a liquor store, which is the best sort of campaign headquarters you can have.

For non-political reasons, I'm soft on Doc Robinson in Ward Five. He's a Republican, about the only decent one running. He is mildly independent and could charm a drug addict off of heroin. No one interesting has announced against him although CECO's Linwood Chatman is mulling it over.

Nothing striking has turned up in Wards Four or Eight. In Ward Seven Willie Hardy should have little trouble.

In Ward Six, as this is written Marty Swaim is trying to decide whether to run. If she does, she'd have the edge in a multi-person race. If she doesn't run, Norma Wegner has a good chance. Nadine Winter would be the biggest challenge. Aside from Marty, the best potential candidates in the race are John Anthony and Carl Bergman, but neither seems likely to win. It's too bad, especially since Bergman, as Gazette readers have come to know, is one of the most imaginative

and knowledgeable people in this town. While working as an aide to the City Council, he made more than one member look good by his excellent staff work. Later, on the staff of Give a Damn, he assisted at the reformation of Gilbert Hahn.

John Anthony is one of the quiet workers of the city who has helped the rest of the city discover Near Northeast. It looks, how-

ever, that hard and well-directed work will have to be its own reward for a while longer.

So there are candidates worth your while. Some of them might even win. Remember that though the race might not interest you, others feel differently. Like Joel Brophy. In a

front-page story in the Star-News, which the Post predictably chose to ignore, Michael Kiernan reported:

"I would not want my support to hurt Washington in any way," Brophy said yesterday, adding that he would even consider campaigning openly for the mayor if he thought 'it would help.'"

So you see, somebody cares.

LETTER FROM LORTON

THANKFULLY, this is the last column S. Carl Turner will write under the title "Letter from Lorton." Carl has been released on parole. He will continue as a Gazette columnist.

FIRST day out for the writer of Letter From Lorton, came on Friday, April 19th. Filled with optimistic anticipation and trying to avoid negative thinking, I left Lorton on parole to the real minimum-security.

The chance of gaining employment while waiting to be released proved to be extremely limited. Somehow I was blessed with a job offer, in an area related to my skills, music and clerical work, dealing with the arts. I accepted a job with a non-profit organization deeply concerned with the coordination of workshops and youth guidance, for the betterment of all kids of the innercity and of all races.

Beautiful work for me, though finances within the organization, "Compared to What, Inc.," are at this time sparse. But with the recent "Human Kindness Day" project May 11th being a success and with the proposed "Sum-

mer Hut" on its way, things are looking up.

After arriving in Washington and reporting to a very concerned parole officer, I went home to a mother and sister, both having much joy in their hearts and maybe a few tears. I then proceeded to make some calls and finally visited Ann Cunningham, now with the Bureau of Rehabilitation. Ms. Cunningham, who has had unmeasurable success in helping further inmate-community relations and with self-help groups within Lorton, extended her hand to try helping me adjust. By having Ms. Cunningham, Maurice Lyles, Bennie Benson, Sam Smith, Frank Wolf, the Seventh Day Adventists, and Lessie Carmichael of PACE Technology, Inc., behind me, I had a jump on the average ex-con.

There was a large amount of concern from another wonderful lady, Ms. Constance Hartzler of the Family Counseling Unit at Lorton Reformatory. I mention these people because they are above all sincere. Ms. Hartzler is a major figure in my mind, as is Ann Cunningham, because what they represent is vitally needed, particularly at Lorton. The Hartzler program, "Family Counseling," despite its limitations, offers the incarcerated some relief or remedy to many real and unavoidable problems. Why will this program not

be refunded for the coming year? For answers call Delbert C. Jackson, Director of the Department of Corrections, D.C., 614 H Street, NW and then someone let me know if the reasons Mr. Jackson gave were plausible.

Back in the music scene, I found the cozy, warm and comfortable La Zambra Lounge, at 14th & Rhode Island Ave., N.W.

George Craig is the proprietor, and on Sunday evenings 4 until 8 the sounds are Jazz. Here you will find the many over-looked local musicians (including me) getting their thing together. Maurice Lyles, Kenny McLain, Lynton Thomas, Jimmy Hicks, Bernard Loft, Nap Turner, Freddy Johnson, Charlie Purcell Brown, Gene Foster, Julie Moore, Major Gee, and a host of beautiful singers (Gail Dixon, Gloria Winston — a real find from Rochester, N.Y.) a visit from Sharen Scott occasionally, and by the time this issue of the Gazette is read the La Zambra should have had the pleasure to present the very outstanding Evangeline Bailey, the first female singer with the Navy Band, "The Commodores."

Nina Simone, after enjoying Human Kindness Day, was welcomed into the home of the extremely-creative artist, Daniel R. Wynn for a small informal gathering. Mr. Wynn's exquisite home contains his highly original paintings, many writings and hand-carved African pieces. The home is a gallery, very special one.

It is a blessing to be home. But one cannot be too careful. There is trouble out there, just asking for you!!!

PEACE

S. CARL TURNER, JR.

Swampoodle's Report

FIRST the news from our political desk. Joseph Danzansky, who tried to buy a major league baseball team, has decided to settle for a minor league mayor. Esther Peterson has already unit-priced Walter Washington at \$400,000. The big problem now is quality control.

Another question is how to raise the money and how much to raise. Here are Walter Washington's forthright thoughts on the subject as transcribed from a May 5 television interview:

"Now look, let's get into the area of realism with the thing and I think there ought to be limits and I think there ought to be every exclusion of opportunities or any untoward activity but I think in the interest of good government is what we're talking about there ought to be a reasonable opportunity for the candidates to get exposure. Now the interesting thing about that is that assuming I run that I've had six years of exposure. I wouldn't be out there after the greatest amount and I'm continuing in office. So it doesn't make sense for me to look at it in any other way than good government. I would assume that what people who keep saying is, you know, that the less that's in there the better for me so you, you know, can argue it both ways and what I think we're talking about is good government; it's something in my twenty or more years in the government responsive good government a decent and reasonable opportunity. Where those figures fall I'm not sure. It's one of the reasons I personally didn't get involved because I might be in there and I didn't want to influence it. So that it seems to me that when the committee comes — when both committees come to a figure I would hope that they would put a limit on it that I'll abide by it if the situation directs it and do the very best job under the circumstances. But I do believe

that we've got to remember that you just can't go out here and expect to get a kind of quality in a major city in America and do it on a shoe string."

Just think. If Richard Nixon talked like that, they never would have had anything on him.

Meanwhile, Jack Nevius has returned from Russia so thrilled with the way they do things there (nobody complains in Moscow when a convention center is built), that he is reportedly seeking to become commissar of the federal enclave created under the home rule bill. His major competition appears to be Messrs. Antonelli and Gould who have agreed to split the responsibilities in return for a long-term lease on the Mall and the president of Gino's who promises an annual fast food festival on the Monument grounds.

Looking ahead to statehood, my consultant friend, Boozey Allen, has produced a report suggesting that the tree of heaven be chosen as the state arbor and that the panda be the official state animal. Why, I asked Boozey. "Because," he replied. "Each year thousands of people visit it. It's black and white. And it's kept in a cage."

I want to thank all the readers who have inquired as to my own political plans and I am happy to report that I have made my decision. I plan to announce for the School Board's Ward Three and Six seats and the chairmanship since no one seems to want them — at least for long.

Finally, this important legal note from Metro, as posted in Metrobuses: "A transfer is not transferable."

Joseph X. Swampoodle
Purveyor of split infinitives
for more than thirty-five years

HOW MUCH DOES YOUR BUS RIDE REALLY COST?

In our recent report on the bus system, we pointed out the need for a route by route analysis of bus revenues and expenses in order to determine how much of the Metro bus deficit the city should be paying. Our guess was that DC was subsidizing suburban bus routes to the tune of more than \$4 million a year. Now Stone & Webster has done a study of bus ridership in Northern Virginia that argues that Metro's current formula, based on bus-miles, does not "produce an equitable result." The bus-mile formula, for example, ignores whether the miles travelled are full or empty. Stone & Webster examined several bus routes by section to determine the actual profitability of the run. For example, the 3-K route buses make a profit of \$6.96 in Fairfax City according to the study and \$7.42 in Falls Church. But in Fairfax County they lose \$24.74 and in Arlington \$1.69, producing a net loss of \$12.05. DC does not have to wait on Metro to produce similar figures on bus routes within the city. And until it does, we will continue to subsidize the suburban bus rider.

national news

25

TRUCKER
SUNNY
NEWSPAPER
YOPS



Rush to the sun

JAMES RIDGEWAY

A RECENT report, at first suppressed by the AEC which commissioned it, now makes plain that if there is to be a Project Independence it ought to be based on solar power, not coal or nuclear. Prepared by a group of conservative government experts, the report is sure to be used by environmentalists in their campaign to block development of the liquid metal fast breeder reactor and against strip mining in the West.

In preparing an energy development program for Nixon last fall, Dixie Lee Ray commissioned various studies, one of which was a subpanel on solar energy. It consisted of ten experts headed by Alfred J. Eggers, Jr., of the National Science Foundation, the organization that now finances \$13.2 million in solar research.

Here's what it says in summary: "At an average energy conversion efficiency of five per cent, less than four per cent of the US continental land mass could supply 100 per cent of the nation's current energy needs. Thus, solar energy could contribute significantly to the national goal of permanent energy self-sufficiency while minimizing environmental degradation. In addition this technology will be an exportable item for use by other energy deficient areas of the world. Although the full impact of solar energy probably won't occur until the turn of the century, the economic viability of several applications, e.g. heating and cooling of buildings, wind electric power, and bio-conversion of fuels could be developed and demonstrated in the next five years. Ultimately practical solar energy systems could easily contribute 15 to 30 per cent of the nation's energy requirements.

"In most cases, photovoltaics being the primary exception, the development of practical systems will not require high technology. Thus, the research and development costs for solar energy should be very small in relation to the value of energy saved. Current estimates indicate that the value of the fossil fuel to be saved in one subprogram area alone, heating and cooling of buildings, would equal the cost of the entire accelerated \$1 billion R&D program seven years after practical systems become commercially available."

The 200-page report then sets forth specific plans for developing solar energy, spending \$400 million in a minimum viable

program and \$1 billion in an orderly accelerated program over five years. The Eggers panel proposes to build solar power generating plants on land, rotor systems for wind power, plants to create methane from sewage, electric power plants at sea, photovoltaic systems that can turn the sun's rays into electricity either in the form of a large scale power plant or in individual buildings, together with additional development for mass production of systems for heating and cooling buildings.

But in making her proposals to the President, Dixie Lee Ray essentially rejected the study's conclusions and instead of the minimal \$400 million figure proposed to spend only \$200 million in five years. The OMB subsequently raised the amount to \$350 million, still below the minimal level.

But there is no stopping the move into solar which is turning into something of a rush. So far development seems to be pretty much dominated by big oil companies, electric utilities and aero space firms. One of the leaders in photovoltaic research is Dr. Karl Boer of the University of Delaware's Institute of Energy Conversion. The Institute receives funds from NSF, along with the Office of Naval Research, American Cyanamid, utilities, and from a new company called Solar Energy Systems, Inc. Dr. Boer is chairman of Solar Energy Systems, which plans to manufacture solar cells. The company is financed by Shell Oil.

Solar Power Corp. of Braintree, Mass. recently announced it was marketing silicon solar cells designed by Exxon, leading to reports the company had been bought by the big oil firm. Gulf is moving into solar research through Gulf Atomic.

In Tucson, Adrian Meinel, another major proponent of solar energy, formed with a group of faculty members a company called Helio Associates. Helio has been working with Tuscon Gas & Electric Co., on plans to set up solar collectors on building roof tops. Recently Meinel was in Los Angeles telling the Mayor's Committee on Energy Alternatives how solar energy could supply the city's entire electric supply by the year 2000.

Con Ed is discussing with the National Science Foundation the possibility of installing solar operated dehumidifiers on New

York skyscraper roof tops. The dehumidifiers might reduce total power consumption in New York by 10 per cent, enough to eliminate power generating strains during peak periods.

First National City Bank also is in preliminary discussions with the NSF and Con Ed on plans for a new 80 to 90 story office building in New York. According to one report the idea is to build the skyscraper as usual for 40 stories then cant the next 40 stories at a 45 degree angle pointing at the sun, and covered with arrays of solar collectors.

Fred Dubin, an engineer who is the consultant on the first big government office building to be powered with the help of solar energy, says his business has increased from no projects two years ago to seven in the works now. He will use 8,000 square feet of collectors for the New York Botanical Gardens building at Millbrook, and is involved in a realty development in the Virgin Islands that will get power from wind, and use solar for heating and cooling. Pittsburgh Plate Glass is actively in the solar business, and reportedly has just sold 10,000 square feet of collectors to a school in Georgia. The state legislatures of both Connecticut and Florida are actively considering ways to promote solar energy through legislation. Senator James Abourezk has set up a solar energy project to research ways of getting the Indians into the solar business by making use of the vast expanses of Indian wastelands in the western deserts. Peter Glazer of Arthur D. Little told IBM, Textron, Matsushita Electric, Raytheon, Dow, Dupont, Motorola, 3Ms, ITT, GE, Westinghouse, McDonald Douglas.

Although solar energy often is advanced as a perfect example of small scale technology that can lead to breaking the hold of the big oil companies and utilities, it doesn't seem to be working out that way. As indicated above, oil companies and aerospace firms are major research recipients. They work together with universities which receive funds from NSF and other government organizations. The leading research teams already are established and include Harvard and Tyco Laboratories, University of Minnesota and Honeywell Corp., Los Alamos Laboratory of the AEC, GE, Inter-Technology Corp., and Aircraft Armaments Inc.

Congress now is debating legislation that probably will reinforce those arrangements, by overlaying the entire solar program with an expensive and self-perpetuating R&D program. One bill that passed the House with only eight dissenting votes would have NASA and HUD spend \$50 million over five years to build demonstration houses heated and cooled by solar energy. This legislation was sponsored by Representative Mike McCormack. He has a reputation as a proponent of solar power, but actually McCormack is for development of nuclear power. He and James Symington, a cosponsor, explained their position last summer to the Washington Post, "We are enthusiastically supporting research and development programs in all areas of solar energy. However, we consider it our duty to emphasize that enthusiasm for solar energy should not inhibit in any way the more immediate and urgent programs in fossil fuel and nuclear research and development upon which this country must inevitably depend for virtually all of its energy for the balance of this century." McCormack's approach then is similar to Dixie Lee Ray's - to hinder use of solar power by small scale dead-ending research projects. Senators Humphrey and Jackson recently put in an R&D bill for \$650 million over the five years. It too is devoted to research projects, but more along the lines set out by the NSF. But their program, run through a new office of solar research would be seated in the AEC, unless and until a new energy R&D establishment was founded.

Meanwhile NASA and NSF and HUD all are quarrelling to see who gets to administer what, and senators with a stake in administering part or all of these agencies are putting in solar energy R&D bills right and left.

The appearance of the big aerospace and defense companies and their university parasites almost certainly means that solar research will be centered on high level technology that will cost tremendous amounts of money and take a long time. By nature it will involve capital intensive industry. Solar energy without question opens up the possibility of a decentralised energy system, but only if it is used as one of many factors in low energy architecture, the wedding of solar power to different sorts of building design, and that in turn can lead to different, possibly new kinds of communities. But in the pell mell rush to get a piece of the solar action the possibilities inherent in solar energy may well be lost.

chuck stone

TO neither side's satisfaction, the U.S. Supreme Court left the "fair goals" vs. "racial quotas" controversy in the DeFunis vs. University of Washington case twisting in the wind.

At the same time, the court meticulously sidestepped a broader and tougher question: is it possible for a white man to be victimized by racial discrimination in the remedying of past racial injustices?

One white man, Joseph W. Dooley, thinks so. Furthermore, he has filed a complaint with the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to support his allegation.

The 42-year-old Dooley, an experienced truck driver, began working for the Philadelphia division of Time-DC Inc. in Sept. 1971 as a "casual" or temporary driver. Time-DC, whose main offices are in Lubbock, Texas, is the country's fifth largest trucking company. Last year it grossed \$187 million.

On August 28, 1972, according to Dooley's complaint, Time-DC hired a black man, Pernell Gardner, who was later made a permanent driver over Dooley and other casual drivers.

"I feel I have been denied permanent driver status at the above company because of my race (Caucasian)," declared Dooley's complaint. "I was told by my shop steward, Charles Meyers, that the company told him they had to hire a black."

Meyers verified Dooley's charge. "That's what the terminal manager told me," said Meyers. What about Dooley's performance as a truck driver? "Satisfactory," replied Meyers, who also believes Dooley got a raw deal.

Dooley, a trucker with 21 years experience, is not opposed to increasing job opportunities for blacks, and he shows a surprising lack of bitterness as well as a pragmatic grasp of the problem's ramifications.

"If they had told me they had a quota to reach, I would never have applied and wasted 14 months there. I've got six kids to support."

"That's why I wanted a decision on the DeFunis case," he said with a seemingly omniscient smile. "The white population is entitled to civil rights, too. Many think they've lost those rights. A lot of the people I talk with say that."

"But the EEOC still hasn't acted on my complaint. I know they have a big backlog of cases, but that's because Nixon cut their budget," he shrugs sympathetically.

A Time-DC spokesman admits the company is under a court order to hire more blacks, as a result of charges brought against the company. Until the court-mandated goal is met, said the spokesman, "we're hiring one on one." Currently, there are two blacks among the company's 55 drivers.

But a company spokesman also said Dooley is still eligible for permanent driver status. Dooley disagrees. The company is punishing him,

he maintains, for filing the original complaint and he recently amended his original complaint to include that charge.

"In 1972, I earned \$4,633 with Time-DC. After I filed my complaint, the company called me for only six jobs in 1973, and I earned \$269 driving for them in 1973."

"At one point there, I was driving nights so much that when I saw a red light, I didn't know whether to go to bed with it or what."

For those who quickly surmise that blacks hired under such circumstances are not as well-qualified, the hired black driver, Pernell Gardner, has been driving a tractor trailer for over 15 years, won 48,000 points for safe driving with National Freight, and formerly drove trucks in South Carolina and Augusta, Georgia.

Thousands of similar-skilled blacks in other fields are available but industry just can't seem to find them. According to a survey just completed by Andrew F. Brimmer, a governor of the Federal Reserve Board, more than one-fourth of all American businesses with 15 or more employees had no black employees.

Meanwhile, Dooley has more spare time than he wants. Most of it is spent as the coach of his predominantly white neighborhood's football club of 10 to 15-year-old 80-pounders. "We'll have a good season," he predicts confidently.

As for his complaint, "I believe fully in the hiring of blacks on an equal basis. But I believe the company responsible for the discrimination should be punished, not me," concludes Dooley. The issue has never been more consisely stated.

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The fine print in Nixon's health plan

WASHINGTON (LNS) — The national media has given a good deal of coverage to Nixon's national health insurance plan, known as the Comprehensive Health Insurance Plan (CHIP), introduced in Congress in February. Nixon's bill, hailed by the *New York Times* as "a vastly more liberal bill than the one he introduced in 1971" appears to promise nearly comprehensive benefits, universal coverage and a single class of care for all — and at no additional cost to the taxpayer.

However, not so much has been written about the "fine print" in the bill which undermines and occasionally negates the promises. The following is taken from an article by Ronda Kotelchuck in the *Health Policy Advisory Center (Health PAC) Bulletin*.

Basically, Nixon's proposal does not guarantee anyone health care. It only guarantees the opportunity to purchase a private health insurance policy covering a specific set of services. This would be done under three programs.

- The Employee Health Insurance Plan would require employers to pay 65% of the cost of health insurance. Employees would pay the other 35%. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare estimates that insurance companies will charge an average of \$600 for the annual premium rate for a family of four, meaning that the employer would pay \$390 and the employee \$210 a year.

However, health care under EHIP would be financed regressively. That is, the estimated \$210 employee share of the premium would be the same for the \$7,000 a year worker and the \$70,000 a year executive.

- Under the Assisted Health Insurance Plan, state and federal governments would subsidize, on a guaranteed basis according to income, the poor (families earning under \$7,000 a year and individuals under \$5000 a year), the unemployed and those considered to be high medical risks.

- Medicare would subsidize coverage for the elderly, and its benefits would be expanded. However, many elderly people would actually stand to lose under the Nixon program. Presently, Medicare provides hospitalization automatically, but if elderly people want

coverage for the cost of a physician in addition, they must pay a premium of \$6.30 a month. Under CHIP, all health insurance coverage (hospitalization and doctor's visits) for the elderly will be voluntary and will depend on paying premiums.

CHIP is not health insurance. It is primarily "catastrophic illness" insurance. An ordinary healthy, family four which would usually spend about \$140 per year on doctor bills and \$60 for visits to the dentist, would seldom benefit from CHIP. In addition to the initial \$210 a year that family must pay for its premiums, it must also pay the first \$150 of medical expenses per family member, up to a total of \$450 a year. Thus a family could end up spending \$660 before receiving any assistance from its health insurance.

And once a family has spent \$450, it is still not home free — it must still pay 25% of the costs after that (called "cost sharing" by the government) up to a maximum of \$1,400. Only then does CHIP take over and pay all costs.

Although Nixon has touted CHIP as a means of improving the health of the nation, it is clear that the burden of maintaining health will still be on the individual family.

Furthermore, CHIP is not national. The proposal does not guarantee everyone on the coverage that it does provide. Instead it is completely voluntary. Only if people join and pay their share of the premium costs will they be covered. This is likely to leave large numbers of people uncovered.

First to fall between the cracks will be the marginally employed and part-time workers. CHIP does not require employers to offer health insurance until employees have worked 90 days, and does not require coverage of part-time workers at all. Such workers may seek insurance through AHIP but only through paying much of the \$600 premium themselves. Certainly this will act as an incentive for employers to hire part-time and temporary workers for whom they will not have to pay their share of the premium.

In addition, the cost of purchasing health insurance will fall most heavily on lower-income workers who, in a financial pinch, may decide to risk not being insured.

Under AHIP (the plan for the poor, unemployed and medical risks) states would be

responsible for 25% of the AHIP costs and the federal government for 75%. However, the states have the option of whether or not they even wish to participate in CHIP.

People covered by the Nixon plan would be issued a "credit card" by their insurance company. Nixon's plan claims that the insurance company would pay for health care in full, presumably making it free at the point of delivery. Then the company would collect from the consumer whatever out-of-pocket costs she or he might owe. However, if a patient defaults on those out-of-pocket costs, under CHIP she or he may be cut off from medical care altogether.

Currently, if a patient has outstanding bills, a particular hospital may turn her or him away, but they can still seek services from other providers. CHIP would allow the insurance company to cancel a "credit card" if debts are not paid within 90 days, thus cutting off access to all participating medical services.

Nixon's promise that health care under CHIP would be "free at the point of delivery" is also undercut by a provision that would certify providers (doctors, hospitals etc.) as fully participating, associate participating and non-participating. Associate participating providers (excluding institutions) would be free to charge EHIP patients direct, individual fees above and beyond those paid for by their "credit card."

For EHIP patients this would make a sham of services being free at the point of delivery or of their having even the \$1500 as a maximum liability for medical expenses. For the poor and the elderly, it would mean discrimination as usual since many health providers would choose not to treat the "less profitable" AHIP patients.

Finally, the administration of CHIP would be extremely complex. Administration would not be national. Rather the federal role would be confined to establishing eligibility standards, defining the benefits included, and continuing to administer Medicare. Left up to the individual states would be such crucial issues as regulation of insurance companies, review of rates received by insurance companies and medical providers, and administration of cost control mechanisms.

CHIP and AHIP would be administered according to 50 different state plans (assuming all states participate). CHIP's system of graduated costs would mean that both the state and federal governments would have the task of determining the exact income of applicants under AHIP and Medicare. CHIP's complexity would necessitate an enormous bureaucracy. The difference between it and the present system is that the bureaucracy wouldn't be federal; instead it would be partly at the state level and partly within the private insurance companies.

Such complexity is inevitable if Nixon is to satisfy almost all parties without making any basic changes in the health system. States would be free to participate or not in CHIP.

Health care providers could choose to participate fully, partially, or not at all, and in doing so would be free to accept the rate CHIP would pay, or charge more their wage-earning patients.

Insurance companies would be free to charge whatever they could get in negotiations with individual employers (except for the employers of less than 50 people, for which there is a stated rate). And employers are free to pass on the costs of employee health insurance in the form of higher prices.

The group that stands to gain most from this plan is the insurance companies. This is no surprise, since rich insurance executives contributed heavily to Nixon's political campaigns. W. Clement Stone, for example, chair-

man of the large Combined Insurance Company, gave Nixon \$2.8 million in 1968 and another \$2 million in 1972. The January 26, 1974 issue of *Business Week* states, "If the Administration's bill passes. . . two years after implementation starts. . . health insurers could collect double their present income."

The only group this scheme does not benefit is the health care consumers. CHIP does not guarantee health care as a human right — it guarantees only private health insurance. And only catastrophic health insurance, and only if the consumer can afford it. And if the consumer is unhappy with the plan, Nixon's insurance bill allows her or him the ultimate freedom not to participate at all.

action notes

CORNELL'S Human Affairs Program combines student field work with an effort to help organizations seeking a more equitable distribution of power and wealth. The program is looking for full-time staff to work in the areas of banks and finances; community redevelopment, labor and corporations, property/taxation/wealth; public utilities and energy; and women and corporate power. The program is especially interested in people who have had several years of experience in community and/or labor organizing and who are capable of developing research/action projects. Academic credentials are welcome but not required. Resumes should be sent by June 30 to Human Affairs Program, Cornell University, Sheldon Court, College Avenue, Ithaca, New York 14850.

FROM: The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, 8501 East 14th St. Oakland, Calif. 94621, (415)638-0195. Newsprint reprints of the Black Panther Party position paper on the Elimination of the Offices of President and Vice-President are available free from Central Distribution at the above address.

FROM: People's Party, 1065 31st. NW, Georgetown, Columbia 20007. (202) 338-1900. The People's Party National Committee is holding its third national convention in Indianapolis, July 4-6.

The convention is open to participation from all groups who share similar political views. Groups of five or more members, not affiliated with the People's Party, may send up to two delegates to the convention. These delegates may vote on all issues not requiring a roll-call vote.

A NEW film, *On Strike*, is available from the Youth Organization of Black Unity Film Project. It tells the story of the San Francisco State College student strike of 1969.

The film is in black and white and runs 30 minutes. For more information contact: YOB Film Project, 473 Florida Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001. Or phone (202)387-3556.

THE New Women's Film Co-op Catalog is now available. For a copy, send \$1.50 (for individuals & community groups), \$2.00 (institutions) to 200 Main Street, Northampton, Mass. 01060.

THE Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee is in dire need of funds. Send anything you can to WKLD/OC, Box 255, Sioux Falls, S.D. 57101.

THE American Civil Liberties Union has developed materials designed to encourage people to push Congress toward impeachment. One is a 56-page booklet

entitled *Why President Nixon Should be Impeached*, which includes chapters detailing the impeachment process, its history, and an examination of Nixon's offenses. It is available for \$1 from Public Affairs Press, 419 New Jersey Ave., SE, DC 20003.

In addition the ACLU has prepared a stamp-sized impeachment sticker to be used on envelopes, especially those to Congressmen. It shows a picture of Nixon with IMPEACH stamped across his face. One 30-stamp sheet (including mailing) costs \$1, and can be obtained from the ACLU, 323 W. Fifth Street, Los Angeles, Ca. 90013.

ABORTION and the Constitutional Rights of Minors, an American Civil Liberties Union report by Rutgers Law Professor Ruth Jane Zuckerman, sets forth a detailed legal argument for finding that the Supreme Court's declaration of women's fundamental right to an abortion applies to minors. This is "so long as the minor is sufficiently mature to understand the nature and consequences of the treatment when it is explained to her and so long as she has consented to it."

The report is 25 pages plus addenda. The addenda includes a state-by-state examination of legislation on medical treatment of minors prepared by Attorneys Harriet F. Pilpel and Nancy F. Wechsler, and an Abortion Rights Association Fact Sheet that explains abortion procedures, costs and other matters in simple terms.

The report is available for \$1 from ACLU, 22 East 40th Street, N.Y., NY 10016

THE following prisoners would like to correspond with interested persons: Charles Anderson, PO Box 25, Lorton, Va.

Calvin Lee, PO Box 25, Lorton, Va.

THE Red Tape Media Collective, which produces *The Women's Show* on WBCN radio, is offering tapes of some of the shows. They run from four minutes to one hour, and some of their topics include: prostitution, witchcraft, women and music, Wounded Knee, women's labor history, welfare, office workers, and many more.

For a full listing of tapes, their lengths and prices (minimal), write or call The Red Tape Media Collective, 22 Cleveland Street, Somerville, Mass. (617)776-7080.

THE United Farm Workers union has called off secondary boycotts of Safeway and A&P stores in return for AFL-CIO endorsement of the continued boycott against non UFW head lettuce and wine grapes.

The AFL-CIO had previously refused to support the secondary boycott of A&P and Safeway stores because many of the union's workers were employed by those firms or related corporations.

The boycott of Gallo, Guild and Franzia wine products will remain in effect without AFL-CIO endorsement, according to UFW spokespersons.

Reportedly the compromise was reached in the hope that the AFL-CIO would back its endorsement with badly needed financial aid.

Cesar Chavez, UFW president, recently said the failure of the AFL-CIO to give more than token support to UFW's organizing in the fields had hurt the effort.

At present, in the Coachella Valley where the lettuce harvest has just begun UFW pickets are not being paid strike benefits due to a lack of funds, Chavez said. In addition, Teamsters harassment in that California area has increased, he said, calling for increased support of the primary boycott.

SOON after the Chilean coup, Victor Jara, one of the greatest Chilean singers, was murdered in the National Stadium in Santiago. Singer Angel Parra, son of Violeta Parra whose music was the foundation of the Chilean folk song movement, was arrested and imprisoned in the concentration camp of Chacabuco until February, when he was released as a result of international pressure. Hundreds of other musicians were arrested, tortured, killed or drive into exile.

The current issue of *Sing Out!* (Volume 22, #5) features an article by Donna Kirchheimer, a young American who spent two years in Chile, that describes the growth of the Chilean song movement from the early work of Violeta Parra to the time of Allende's election. Also included: a tribute to Victor Jara by Stew Albert, and three Chilean songs, one sung by Violeta Parra, one by the Quilapayun, and one by Victor Jara. (A small flexible record bound into the issue makes it possible to hear parts of all the songs in the issue.)

Individual copies are available for \$1.00 from *Sing Out!*, 106 W. 28th St., NY, NY 10007. Subscription: \$6.00/year (six issues), \$10.00/2 years (12 issues).

THE Human Resources Network is writing a series of books on finding funding for social projects, scholarships and personal aid. After writing 8,000 funders for information, it is seeking smaller but strategic sources of money. Send names to HRN, 2010 Chancellor St., Phila, Pa 19103.

FROM: *The Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014 (212)929-3486. The March 22 issues of *The Militant* published in their entirety the FBI COINTELPRO documents on "disrupting" and "neutralizing" the Black movement. As a result of the interest in these documents *The Militant* has published a special four-page reprint of them.

Since NBC reporter Carl Stern obtained these documents, more and more people are beginning to question the government's role in the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Malcolm X and Fred Hampton.

The reprints are available at 10¢ each for 5 or less copies, 7¢ each for 10-25 copies, and lower rates for larger bulk orders.

NOTES FROM THE REAL WORLD

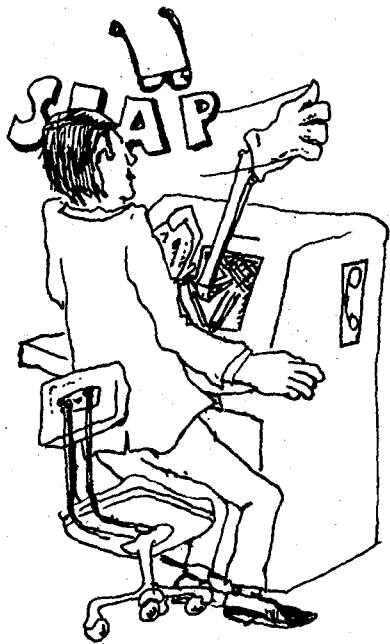
A NORTH London research laboratory has become the first company to order "personalized mini-computers" which automatically track the company's physicists and chemists as they walk around the company's grounds.

Whenever employees come to work, they pick up a personalized electronic security token and carry it throughout the work shift.

The token continually emits its own individual radio signal that is picked up by a computer which keeps track of all workers. By the simple push of a button, a secretary can tell if an employee is in the plant — or what time he or she left.

Some of the mini-units can be coded so that only those with "security clearance tokens" can enter certain doors.

The National Council for Civil Liberties in Britain is opposing the surveillance as a dangerous invasion of privacy. The Council says that imposing the tokens on employees at work is only the first step: later on, says the Council, people may be required to carry tokens at all times so that they can always be located immediately. — ZNS



STUDENTS using the computer center at the University of Akron will no longer be able to use obscene words in giving instructions to the computer.

Computer Center Director John Hirschbuhl says the computer has been programmed to demand an apology if certain four-letter words are used. If the student refuses to apologize, says Hirschbuhl, the computer turns itself off. — ZODIAC

A 17-ACRE religious amusement park, Holy Land U.S.A., is nearly completed in Waterbury, Connecticut.

According to its founder, John Greco, only the Dead Sea remains to be built.

Holy Land U.S.A. features replicas of Jerusalem, a miniature Bethlehem, the Crucifixion, the Garden of Eden, the Temptations of Christ and dozens of other religious attractions.

Visitors to the nearly-completed park report that some of the exhibits are not of the highest quality, however: as an example, the Garden of Eden is housed in a shed and is decorated with plastic plants; Adam and Eve are mannequins from a local store's children's department.

In another exhibit, the catacombs, the figures of Christ and Satan are enmeshed in a wire cage. Greco reports that the cage is necessary because visitors in the past have been smashing the Satan figure apart.

Tourists to Holy Land U.S.A. are shown through some of the exhibits by two nuns, who staff the Holy Land convent. — ZODIAC

THE United States is slowly being threatened with underground water pollution. The U.S. Geological survey reports that

more than one-billion gallons of industrial waste and oilfield brine are currently being pumped underground in the United States each day.

Scientists warn that as the amount of industrial wastes increase in the years ahead, even more wastes and brine will be pumped into the nation's underground environment. They predict that pollution of underground water supplies is inevitable, unless the current pumping trend is halted.

"CONSTITUTIONAL protection should be accorded only to speech that is explicitly political. There is no other basis for judicial intervention to protect any other form of expression, be it scientific, literary or that variety of expression we call obscene or pornographic...

There should be no constitutional obstruction of laws making criminal any speech that advocates...the violation of law. Freedom of non-political speech rests...upon the enlightenment of society and its elected representatives."

— ROBERT BORK at Indiana Law School, 1971

THE big petroleum corporations are using economic might to freeze small, publicly-owned electric companies out of the geothermal energy business.

The major oil companies — which already control petroleum, coal, uranium, ~~shat~~ rock and natural gas supplies — have been investing recently in geothermal energy resources.

Now, Pacific News Service reports that the giants of the oil industry first have been buying up the leases on federally-owned geothermal land, and then have been signing exclusive contracts with private electric companies so that public or municipally-owned companies can not repurchase a share of geothermal steam.

Pacific News cites the case of Union Oil and Signal Oil which, in Northern California, operate one of the few geothermal fields in the world. After the two oil companies developed the geothermal fields, they proceeded to sign exclusive supply agreements with the private Pacific, Gas and Electric Company.

When a group of public electric companies went to Union Oil and Signal oil to purchase steam, they were turned down. The public, non-profit group found that the private companies had literally cornered the geothermal market — making it nearly impossible for any municipal company to generate electricity by using non-polluting geothermal energy. — ZODIAC

A LOS Angeles neurochemist warns that the United States and other governments are conducting research that could later be perverted into "ethnic weapons."

Ethnic weapons, says Doctor Richard Hammerschlag, are biological chemicals that would have the capacity to attack one race or ethnic group while leaving another group completely unharmed.

Doctor Hammerschlag said he had no hard evidence that the U.S. Department of Defense is perfecting ethnic weapons; but he added that a 1970 issue of the magazine *Military Review* talks about the possible development of such weapons.

According to Doctor Hammerschlag, weapons that would affect all members of one ethnic group while being totally harmless to another would be virtually impossible to perfect. But he added that it would be relatively easy to perfect some chemicals that would incapacitate up to 50 per cent of one group — while affecting less than five per cent of another group.

If such weapons were perfected, they could have major consequences in battle, the doctor said. He said one side could use them to disable half a population, making it dependent on the other half and in need of constant care. In the meantime, an unaffected ethnic group could move in and take over, Doctor Hammerschlag stated.

The Pentagon has issued a denial that it has ever seriously researched the possibility of using ethnic weapons. — ZNS

THE U.S. deodorant industry reports that Americans spend \$475 million a year on underarm products.

Since there are 210 Americans with two armpits each, this works out to be about \$1.13 per pit per year. — ZNS

THE *Charlotte Observer* reports that Robert Mardian — the former chief of the Justice Department's Internal Security Division — personally approved the secret payment of \$8000 in cash to two men who testified against three North Carolina black activists.

The case in question involved the so-called "Charlotte Three" — three black men who were sentenced two years ago to lengthy prison terms for allegedly setting fire to a stable.

The three men — Charles Parker, T.J. Reddy and Jim Grant — were convicted — primarily on the testimony of two prosecution witnesses.

The *Observer* reports that government Treasury agents paid each of the two witnesses \$1000 before taking the stand, and \$3000 after they had finished testifying. The two witnesses, Walter Washington and Theodore Hood, were reported to have been paid on the personal instructions of Robert Mardian.

Mardian, as head of the Internal Security Division, was the principal architect of the Grand Jury probes into radical activities across the United States in the early 1970's. Mardian's top grand jury prosecutor was political conspiracy expert Guy Goodwin.

The *Observer* adds that one of the witnesses, Walter Washington, also bragged about receiving more than \$40,000 from "private sources" in return for his testimony.

At the Charlotte Three trial, Hood and Washington were the only prosecution witnesses, but their testimony was enough to send the three civil rights workers to prison for terms ranging from 10 to 25 years.

The *Observer* states that Hood and Washington were flown to Mexico at U.S. government expense at the conclusion of the trial, but that they later decided to return to the United States.

What became of the witnesses? Hood, in September 1972, shot another man to death during a quarrel, and was charged with murder. Despite this murder charge, however, Hood still remains free on bond — nearly two years after the shooting — and has yet to be brought to trial.

The other witness, Walter Washington, was shot and wounded in April when he attempted to hold-up a Charlotte store. Washington was hospitalized in Charlotte, and a warrant for armed robbery was issued against him.

However, Washington somehow slipped out of the hospital avoiding arrest, and police report they haven't seen him since. — ZNS

IN the interest of public safety, the National Safety Council has published safety tips for streakers. The council suggests that streakers:

- Wear sneakers. They give better traction for that all-important speed, and they also protect the feet. A cut foot can end a streaking career prematurely.

- Wear reflectorized tape. This is especially important for night streaking. The council recommends streakers make "bumper numbers" and "taillights" from tape and creatively adorn the body with tape on back, sides and front.

- Stay alert. Watch out for cars, holes, and wire or chains around parking lots and fences.

- Don't forget your glasses if you wear them. — CPS



political forum.

THE Gazette welcomes comment on the upcoming elections. We ask that articles be brief (less than 3 double-spaced pages), reasonably well-written and sent to us prior to the second Tuesday of this month. (109 8th NE, DC 20002)

CLIFF ALEXANDER ON HIS CANDIDACY FOR MAYOR OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

OUR new government must be vigorous and responsive to the people. I will run such a government. It is essential that the services provided by the government be delivered efficiently and with purpose. The government that I would administer will deliver services in that manner.

Our Latino community of some 50,000 is under-utilized in the District government and has suffered from a disparity of public services. The over 100,000 older members of our community have not had the comprehensive programs they so richly deserve. The government I would head would include men and women from all backgrounds joining in the excitement of public service. I believe it is possible to excite young people to the rewards of public service. I believe that a government I will administer can bring the dynamism and leadership so sorely lacking today.

These are some of the issues that we must resolve in order to effect the dramatic and positive changes necessary to move our city forward:

Housing

The present situation in housing and redevelopment is as follows:

(a) There are 32,000 substandard housing units in D.C.

(b) There has been no revitalization of the riot corridors since they burned in April of 1968.

(c) There is no control over condominium conversion and we will soon have approximately 18,000 condominium units in our city. This means that 18,000 rental units have been sold out from under the elderly and lower income Washingtonians.

(d) Rents have skyrocketed during Walter Washington's tenure in the District of Columbia.

(e) Code enforcement has been lax in the District. I would propose (1) a comprehensive rehabilitation program, (2) strict code enforcement, (3) a requirement that a certain percentage of tenants approve condominium conversion before it takes place, and (4) establishment of a firm policy on rent controls.

Equal Employment

Walter Washington has presided over the District government where not a single female has a high level position.

Black people are grossly unrepresented in high-paying upper level jobs. For example, in Traffic and Highways there are 29 people earning \$23,000-\$29,000 and only one is black. There are 5 people earning over \$29,000 and all are white. In Finance and Revenue there are 85 people earning over \$17,000 and only three are black. This kind of pattern persists throughout the upper levels of the District government.

I would propose specific affirmative action in the District government similar to programs I administered as chairman of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Females would be appointed to positions at the highest levels of the District government.

All District employees, black or white, would have equal opportunity for promotion and upward mobility.

Residence of District Government Employees

At present only 22% of the police force

lives in the District of Columbia. Only 25% of the Fire Department's employees live in D.C. There are 28 police inspectors, all of whom live in either Maryland or Virginia. Of all District employees earning \$20,000 or more, two out of every three live in Virginia or Maryland.

I would encourage D.C. workers to become D.C. residents. I would require in certain areas such as the Police Department that new hires all be residents of D.C. Each month over \$1 million is deducted from payroll checks of D.C. workers who live in Maryland and Virginia and sent to those two states.

Transportation

Walter Washington has not been an advocate of D.C. interests as Metro has been built. Priority has been given to subway lines for suburban residents coming to our city to work. Additionally, bus routes are not as comprehensive in Anacostia and Far Northeast as they are in more affluent areas of our city and suburbs. I would speak strongly for the transportation interests of the people of the District of Columbia. This would mean more Metro buses and less cost to the citizens of D.C. for Metro construction.

Economic Development

Walter Washington has never had a comprehensive economic development or planning program for D.C. During his tenure many businesses have fled the central city. The economic growth in suburban counties has been more than twice as large as that of the District of Columbia during Washington's tenure. Ft. Lincoln, 335 acres, owned by the District of Columbia, has been left vacant since 1967, in large part due to the inability of the city government and RLA to move with dispatch.

I would move to bring new business to our city. Not one of the Fortune 500 is headquartered in D.C. I would approach the heads of some of these corporations explaining the advantages to them of locating in our nation's capital. (Proximity to Congress, regulatory agencies and over 100 embassies). Their presence here would provide new job opportunities and enrich our tax base. I would stimulate development in our under-utilized land by recommending lower tax rates when appropriate.

Taxes

This mayor has lowered the commercial and large apartment tax rates so that commercial interests will get a \$17 million windfall this year. At the same time individual home owners have suffered from having their homes reassessed. In some neighborhoods an average 50% increase. I would propose to eliminate special treatment for certain commercial interests. I would develop an equitable individual home assessment system. This will ease the burden on thousands of individual home owners and particularly the burden on older home owners with fixed incomes.

It is also important for competing candidates to debate the issues publicly before the September Democratic Party primary. I will be happy to debate the issues. I believe that these kinds of exchanges will help voters assess candidate positions. Any serious candidate should willingly debate the issues.

There are many questions that Walter Washington must answer:

- What absolute limit will he set on campaign spending for the mayoralty election?

- Does he support my position on monthly reporting of all contributions?

- Why are two of every three employees of the present D.C. government who earn \$20,000 and over living in either Maryland or Virginia?

- Will he immediately appoint females to high positions in D.C.?

- Why do only 22% of our Police Department and 25% of our firemen live in D.C.?

- Why is it that most D.C. government

departments have very few black people in the numerous jobs in the upper income categories?

- Why is the Highways Department so wedded to more roads when the public demands that this mindless dislocation of people and destruction of dwellings come to a halt?

- Why is low income housing in our city in such awful shape?

- Why was the commercial tax assessment rate lowered from 65% to 55% by Walter Washington, giving commercial and large apartment owners a \$17 million dollar windfall?

- Will Walter Washington immediately propose legislation to require that a percentage of tenants in an apartment building must consent before the building is converted to condominium ownership?

- Will Walter Washington explain why 7th, 14th and H Street, NE have remained devastated and virtually untouched since the burnings in April 1968?

- Will Walter Washington correct his past actions and work to restore the full one million dollars cut from the Federal City College budget?

- Why was D.C. the last jurisdiction in the nation to establish an Office of Consumer Affairs and why does this office say it will protect business interests and consumer interests rather than being a strong advocate to eliminate the many consumer abuses in shopping, repairs and real estate?

It is the citizen's right to have a voice in his or her government. It is the government's duty to respond to citizens' needs quickly and positively. The government that I will bring to our city will make its mistakes but it will be a government dedicated to you and committed to making our city the finest in the nation. I am not running to be mayor of the suburbanites or of the tourists or of the White House. I am running to be mayor of the citizens of D.C. As your major I intend to fight your battles and serve you to the best of my ability.

CONDOMINIUM CONVERSION

by Joel D. Joseph, Candidate for D.C. City Council for Ward 3

RECENT studies show that 20,000 rental units in the metropolitan area have already been converted into condominiums and it is projected that this figure could climb as high as 100,000. Northwest Washington's Connecticut Avenue, Wisconsin Avenue, Massachusetts Avenue, and McArthur Boulevard have already become prime locations for massive condominium conversion projects. The current city council has done nothing to protect tenants from condominium conversion. Until a newly elected city council can enact appropriate legislation to protect the rights of tenants, the current council should declare a moratorium on conversions.

Tenant Approval

I propose that majority approval must first be obtained from the tenants before an apartment building can be converted. New York City has a similar provision although it allows conversion on the basis of 35% approval by tenants. I further propose that tenant approval be secured in writing to protect both tenant and developer from possible legal repercussions from oral agreements.

A majority rule would slow down and possibly inhibit building conversion as well as strengthen the position of tenants.

Tenant Bargaining Power

If agreement of a majority of tenants was necessary for approval of a conversion proposal, tenants would have a strong bargaining position in determining the nature and extent of the conversion project.

Some major issues in which tenant bargaining power may be influential are as follows: 1) Scope of renovation, 2) Selling price of converted units, 3) Financing arrangements, 4) Provision for relocation of tenants to continue to rent while other apartments are being converted, 6) Provision for giving tenants discounts according to the length of time that they have lived in their apartments, 7) Maintenance and other fees.

Because each unit is sold individually in condominium projects, renovation and selling price of each unit can be considered separately. Whereas some units could be sold "as is" others might be extensively renovated. By



treating each unit individually, a tenant's financial ability can also be taken into consideration when renovation and/or selling price questions arise. For example, an elderly couple living on a fixed income might prefer no renovation and a low fixed monthly mortgage payment. On the other hand, a young couple might prefer extensive renovation. Either way, tenants who constitute the majority could bargain in their own interest, whether it be for the community as a whole, for the interest of those who do not wish to buy their apartments, or for those who do wish to buy their apartments. I propose the following solutions to those of the minority wishing to continue dwelling in rental units: 1) Some apartments might be maintained by the management as rental units for an indefinite period of time, 2) Some apartments might be maintained by the management as rental units for a specific amount of time, 3) The cost of relocation for those tenants desiring rental units should be paid by the developer of the converted building from which the tenant has moved. All or some of these proposals could be adopted in the final agreement reached between the developer and tenants.

Tenant Credit

A major obstacle for many condominium buyers is the required downpayment. Many tenants are financially unprepared to make such investments. One remedy might be the issuing

of tenant credit corresponding to one's length of residence in an apartment building. For example, if a family has been paying \$200 per month rent and has resided for ten years in their building, if 10% credit were given, \$2,400 worth of credit would have accumulated which could be applied toward the downpayment. This type of arrangement could greatly alleviate the financial burden for the prospective buyer of an apartment.

Landlord Conversion Prerogative

If a landlord is unwilling to face opposition from tenants whose rental units are being converted into condominiums, I propose that it would be best for the sake of both tenant and landlord that conversion take place only upon the vacancy of individual apartments. By converting each unit as it becomes available, the landlord would not meet with tenant opposition and would gradually be able to convert the entire building over a period of years.

Conclusion

A law providing for majority tenant approval before condominium conversion takes place would give tenants more power to control the conditions and terms of conversion. This provision will make it clear to developers that tenants should be given significant consideration in conversion planning. Also, this proposal will encourage the sale of apartments to current residents thus preserving the character and stability of neighborhoods.

Community of equals or Bedlam of envy

CADE WARE

ALMOST every suffering minority has at one time or another made a good thing out of prejudice against other minorities — women have patronized blacks, blacks have sneered at queers, and homosexuals have mimicked women. To be an underdog has not necessarily meant to be an exemplar of tolerance. But in order to muster the diverse coalition of strength that minorities needs to win political power, minority leaders have had to learn to work with leaders of other minorities alien to them.

I saw this process in 1970 when, being a homosexual as well as a male liberal, I listened to feminists and homosexuals struggling to find common political ground in their separate oppressions, which sometimes involved oppression of one another. I saw hippies and peaceniks swallowing their fear of ridicule in order to make room for open gay pacifists in the anti-war movement. I met black community leaders who were quick to see the parallels between the homosexuals' struggle for equality and their own. The cord of common experience was there.

One hefty outgrowth of minority coalition politics in Washington has been the new Title 34 Human Rights Law which passed the DC City Council unanimously late last year. Title 34 — which council chairman John Nevius says is meant "to carve out new ground in the field of human rights" — carries the broadest and toughest municipal human rights guarantees of any yet legislated in the U.S.

Title 34's intent is to extend the District of Columbia's present legal protections against discrimination in employment, housing, public accommodations, etc., to a whole new tier of minority groups beyond and in addition to the commonly protected minorities of race, creed, color or national origin. Principally these groups — the "new minorities," if they may be called that — are women, homosexuals, the aged, students, and counterculture people, i.e., hippies.

The law's provisions are extremely broad. It has teeth, and it stands as a kind of *summa* of U.S. human rights legislation to date. Some generally acknowledged problems it attacks are credit discrimination against women, housing discrimination against women and students, and employment discrimination against homosexuals and the aged.

Diversity was a recurring concept in discussions surrounding the bill. Councilwoman Marjorie Parker who, with her assistant Lynn Scholz, was prime author of Title 34, made this statement in presenting it to the council: "Somehow, in our country, we have tended to develop as a nation of people who find

the differences among us very discomforting. This is especially ironic when we recall the reasons and the necessity for the founding of our nation in the first place. At this time in our history, and doubtless to a greater extent in the future, our population is diverse beyond describing. . . . It is then in this spirit and through this regulation that we attempt to support the rights of individuals in all their diversity and potential."

A society of diversity, and not a society of stereotypes, is what the council was looking to.

A libertarian juggernaut, Title 34 has naturally aroused fears and tremors in parts of the community. The DC Board of Trade in particular lobbied to limit it, and won a few concessions. Nonetheless, it is likely that the stereotypical objections (women are poor credit risks, homosexuals disrupt the office) will soon be dispelled by demonstrable fact, even if historic social misunderstandings may not be. Title 34, could well be remembered as a major landmark of U.S. civil rights history — a law, as councilman Tedson Meyers remarked, that even the DC business community may be proud of. It will surely be remembered in Washington as a definitive signal that the new minorities have arrived.

Arrived, yes. Satisfied, no. And here the middle-class male is on target. The emergence of America's new minority middle class protesters — women, gays, hippies, the aged, etc. — has outlined the figure of the middle male as the key to the problem in human rights. In his power and primacy, the middle male not only excludes the hungry minorities from the center ring — his power also imperils the ultimate hope the minorities have for unity among themselves. Over against the potential of a minority coalition, the seductive presence of the middle male tears the whole thing apart. As long as a black male expects to get a job because he is male, he can't work in effective partnership with women. As long as a woman ward leader hesitates to invite homosexuals to her home, she can't expect to reach the gay vote. As long as the elderly fear hippies because they don't resemble the middle male, and hippies distrust the elderly because they resemble him too much, the stone walls of age discrimination will divide us. The power of the middle male sows a self-defeating division among the struggling minorities, for each is tempted to flatter him, ape him, and seduce him into their own urgent schemes for survival.

Once the ideal of a non-discriminatory society has been launched, it can't succeed

till the middle male has been brought down. And such a coming down reduces the middle male's situation to that of another beleaguered minority. If the middle male has begun to feel isolated, he is only coming to share the sense of isolation which has plagued the hungry minorities all along. The solution, it would seem, is a re-thinking and re-feeling for everyone.

(As a human being, if not as a role figure, the middle male of course survives his downfall — even happily — because he has an enormous capital advantage from the start, because he is adaptable, and because he discovers it's healthier to live in a community of equals than in a Bedlam of envy.)

When the fortress of the middle male is leveled, what remains is a diverse social marketplace where all groups are redefining themselves and fashioning their own freedom from the confines of dying stereotypes. Ideally, differences between groups are not then the stuff of hatred and distrust but of mutual appreciation and growth. No one is pre-eminent and, for a period at least, each group is seen as having a special honor and value. This in all its color and energy, is the society of diversity.

Is it coming? If it does come, will it work? If so, how?

I think 300 years' political history proves that the drive toward an egalitarian society is one of the most prolific and persistent impulses of the American people. Yet the leveling of the middle male is a final development for which many quarters of American society are not yet prepared. Family people and lower-class upward strivers in particular are reluctant to concede that old-style family and wage-earning relationships (all hung on the primacy of the middle male) still aren't essential. When the atmosphere bespeaks social change, they flee, and indeed, most city centers today, like the District of Columbia, are largely deserted by white middle-class family people.

Is this a disaster — or an opportunity?

The white middle-class flight has in fact concentrated the potential of a society of diversity in a geographic center. In greater Washington certain cosmopolitan population groups — successful young blacks, college students, the wealthy, homosexuals, the international colony, counterculture people, singles, and young white professionals, among others — all comprise a growing aggregate of overlapping population groups who (a) each relate to a society of cosmopolitan diversity and

(b) are increasingly concentrated in the District of Columbia. In addition, all these groups are growing in size, productivity, and wealth. Is this a hint for the planners?

In discussing this, urban planner Kirk White of the D.C. Office of Planning and Management asks, "Why should the District of Columbia try to build on things it hasn't got? Why not pay attention to unique population assets we already have, and are getting more of? Diversity is what cities are for. Why not a city for city people?"

Like most American cities, the District of Columbia finds it has a city centrum rich in minority populations. It seems worth asking whether there is an economic future in developing the unique economic assets of a city diversity — that is, on building a place where the special economic energies of cosmopolitan minority groups can have full play. Why not welcome arts and artisans, speciality businesses, luxury merchandising, entertainment and theater, scholarship, journalism, social and political action — in short, the whole teeming wealth of modern cosmopolitan life?

The value of an economy of diversity is problematic, but it's clear that capitalizing on what the District's got is only common sense.

The economy of a city of diversity might have several unique drivers. Consider:

- Minority peoples whose presence in so-

ciety has at best only been tolerated could very likely burst out with new energy and productivity when suddenly given a first-class stake in their city. Witness the mushrooming energies of black America. Title 34 touches on a whole raft of Washington minorities with the same franchise.

- Historically, crossroads cities have shimmered with new ideas and initiatives — Byzantium, Florence, Paris, New York. In America now the crossroads are not geographic but sociological. A city which is a minority crossroads may have special promise today.

- Washington is one of the largest and most creative black cities in the world. Black Washington should be an open font of cultural innovation.

- Millions and millions of bright, energetic Americans want to live, earn and spend in a cosmopolitan atmosphere. Why not build on this fact?

An economy of diversity to some extent already exists in Washington. It isn't seen as such and it isn't cultivated by planners and government. Nonetheless, Dorn McGrath, chairman of George Washington University's urban planning department, believes that city planners could deliberately stimulate an economy of cosmopolitan diversity — experimenting with everything from large-scale incentive zoning, which trades off lucrative zoning allowances against cultural benefac-

tions by industry, to small-scale felicitie like the accommodation of street vendors.

Certainly tax and zoning strategies could cultivate craft and specialty businesses, organizational centers, theater, commercial galleries, publications, and all the other places and graces of a society of diversity — with important long range returns for Washington.

In real estate the economy of diversity finds its home not in monolithic redevelopment schemes but in the piecemeal restoration and reconstruction of existing neighborhoods where the individual's stake is visible in every brick, garden and doorway. The success of Georgetown and Capitol Hill should both argue that these preferences are economically viable. At least many entrepreneurs should hope to be able to do what a succession of determined and inventive realtors (mostly people of the new minorities, incidentally) have made happen to Capitol Hill. In my tree lined block of E Street SE, white professional families, homosexual couples, retiree young black professionals, young singles, and a houseful of poor black bachelors all live together. We sport a transvestie show bar at one corner, a Bible tabernacle at the other, and three government lawyers in between. We don't see eye-to-eye every day, but we relate, and the society of diversity seems to be growing.

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The student ID controversy

FLORENCE ISBELL

From a statement before the School Board
for the American Civil Liberties Union

THE practice of controlling people's movements and activities by requiring identity cards is a fundamentally totalitarian one. In Nazi Germany, for instance, police and storm troopers could arrest people at will for not having their identity papers with them. In Russia, it is forbidden to travel from one city to another without showing identity cards. And in South Africa, thousands of blacks have been arrested for not having their passes with them. Speaking in another context, school superintendent Barbara Sizemore, who supports the student identity card proposal, had this to say about the South African pass law:

"The horrible conditions of life for African people and their daily humiliation in the Union of South Africa at the hands of any white official, worker or bum in the streets means that South Africa requires a huge police force. The largest number of arrests has come as a result of pass law offenses. In his book, House of Bondage, Ernest Cole writes:

"You can expect to be challenged for your pass practically every day. During a 'blitz' as many as 2,500 police sweep the streets checking passes and you may be stopped a hundred times."

"These are the ultimate results of the 'ID' mentality."

These are the ultimate results of the "ID mentality." But such horrendous results do not happen overnight. They grow from just such modest beginnings as we are talking about today — requiring students to carry identification cards. Inevitably, failure of the student to have his ID card with him will result in a penalty. At first, it may only be to exclude him or her from a bus ride. The next step will be to exclude the student without a card from school buildings. Indeed, one of the stated purposes of the ID card, according to a memorandum from assistant superintendent Vincent Reed is that "the ID cards may all be used as passes to school activities ...and for general identification purposes."

Next, such cards will be used for law-enforcement purposes. Police will be free to stop young people on the street and demand to see their identification cards. If the youngster has lost his or forgotten it, he may wind up as a criminal suspect. The widespread practice of demanding identification from adult citizens not engaged in any unlawful activity — and especially of black citizens — is one of the most offensive police practices which the ACLU has been challenging over the years. What this student ID card proposal would do is to give the police unlimited opportunity to extend the practice to our young people.

The next step in this inexorable chain will be that when a youngster is stopped by a police officer, and he doesn't have his ID

card with him, the officer at the very least will make a note of it, if indeed he doesn't arrest him. That police note will be despoited into a police file. And that file may one day come back to haunt the student — when he applies for a job, or a government education loan, or a license, or if he is subsequently arrested. He will face these situations with two strikes against him: a police "record."

But serious though these consequences are, far more serious is the conditioning of young people's minds to the notion that the state can control their daily movements. This so-called identification system is misnamed. It is really a way of robbing our children of identity, not providing them with it. It is a way of telling them that without this card issued by the state, they have no identity. It is a way of conditioning them to passive acceptance of surveillance of their daily lives. It, along with other notions of so-called administrative convenience, and efficiency, and economy, and other shibbeloths so dear to bureaucratic hearts, can combine to defeat one of the fundamental purposes of education — the creation of a new generation

that is independent, and capable of thinking and acting freely without government supervision.

The reasons advanced by Superintendent Sizemore for endorsing the student ID card proposal are administrative convenience, efficiency and economy. These are the commonplace justifications for civil liberties violations. Equally commonplace is the experience that these administrative benefits are illusory, and the student ID card proposal is an excellent example of this phenomenon.

As to economy, the proposal would cost an initial \$92,000 in equipment alone to photograph students. This is being done because the transit company complains that it is losing \$50,000 to \$100,000 because of abuse of reduced student fares. It has produced no documentation whatever for these estimates. The initial cost and subsequent maintenance of the program would be more expensive to the school system than even the transit company's alleged losses.

On the other hand, the proposal would provide ID cards (and therefore bus tokens) to all students, whether or not they normally

DO THEY THINK WE DON'T SHOP?

JOHN WIEBENSON

FROM TESTIMONY on the Pennsylvania Avenue Plan given by Gazette contributor and local architect John Wiebenson.

THESE plans have been billed as a "design for people." Planning is fully capable of producing designs for people, for all kinds of people, the young and the old, the rich and the poor, those stopping once to look upon this historic area and those whose lives bring them here day after day. But, these are not such plans. These plans are a design for people watching parades and for people putting up new office buildings.

Do the Corporation's planners think that we in the District do nothing but watch parades and put up office buildings? Do they think we do not shop, or why would they be tearing out our stores? Do they think we do not eat lunch from brown bags in parks, or why would they be removing a small park and its big trees? Do they think we all drive cars all the time, or why would there be plans for tunnels and none to shelter us from the rain at bus stops? Do they think we have no interest in our old buildings, or

why would they have no strategy for keeping the Willard Hotel if Congress will not subsidize it? Or, why would they keep the Star and Apex Buildings, and then pull the fabric of the city 50 feet back from them so that they would appear to drift as helpless derelicts of the past? Do they think we do not want our city to be important to all its citizens, or why would they plan housing that must exclude those of low income? Or, why would they take away stores that serve those of low income?

Perhaps the Corporation made its mistakes by looking too much at past planning methods, and not enough at those of today. Certainly, L'Enfant, MacMillan, Mellon and the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission never checked much with local people. L'Enfant might be excused for this, as he did not have many people to check with. Even the others might be excused, as it has only been in recent years that planners have developed skills in what they call participatory planning. But, in 1974, it is absurd to propose a plan for a city's very center based on so very little listening to the people who must use it and live with it.

Charles McDowell Jr.

THE man on the car radio said the Arrows had trounced the Saints, 4 to 1, to deadlock their series. There I was listening to the sports results, thinking of myself as at least an average sports fan and patriot, and I had no idea who the Arrows and Saints might be or what game they were playing.

The Saints, it seemed to me, were a football team from New Orleans, but surely football season hadn't started yet. Even if it had, and even if the Arrows and Saints were playing under the new rules announced the other day, a score of 4 to 1 would have been difficult to achieve.

Maybe the man on the radio gave some hint of the nature of the Arrows-Saints contest and I missed it. He was reading a remarkably long list of scores and I was hypnotized by the variety of his verbs — trounced, edged, nipped, tripped, upset, up-ended, shaded, smashed, shut out, blanked, blasted, bested, outpointed, trampled, routed, stunned, stopped and even zapped.

Somehow it stuck in my mind, anyway, that the Arrows had trounced the Saints, and I looked in the newspaper the next day to try to find out what it was all about. There were a lot of scores in the paper from the NBA, ABA, NHL, WHA, PGA, LPGA, WCT, WIT and the National and American leagues of baseball (which, as the national pastime, apparently is not subject to abbreviation) and although the NFL and WFL were out of season, there was enough news of contract disputes, injunctions and tax-shelter manipulations to remind everyone that the great game of football is never dormant.

I found the Minnesota Saints in the WHA (World Hockey Association) summaries. They

had indeed won a game, 4 to 1, over the Houston Aeros. Ah, yes, Aeros! I had never heard of them either.

After following professional sport with devotion in an earlier time, I am disturbed to realize that the players, the teams, the leagues, and the marvelous naive mood of it all have slipped away from me in middle age. (Sometimes I think only the verbs are constant.)

I have tried not to be reactionary about progress in professional sport. So the Giants and Dodgers, the baseball ones, are in San Francisco and Los Angeles instead of New York. So be it. I don't resent it. I am beginning to get used to it.

My children accept absolutely that the Giants and Dodgers are out there on the funny West Coast instead of New York where they belong. The world moves on. Children accept absolutely, as far as I know, that there are big-league baseball teams named Angels and Royals and Rangers and even Padres.

I do not know how anyone of any age could accept absolutely that the Rangers, whose home field is located behind a shopping center on a Texas highway, are currently leading the American league West. But rising generations presumably are not put off by the very notion that a team called the Texas Rangers could play baseball with real teams like the Chicago White Sox, Boston Red Sox, Detroit Tigers and New York Yankees.

As for me, I am put off by the notion that there are divisions called East and West in both baseball leagues. I work at adjusting to all this progress, I really do. Maybe the work makes me tired and that is why I don't give much of a hoot about the game.

Adjusting to progress in professional sport is difficult not only because I am older than I was 20 years ago but because there is so much progress going on all at once.

Three of the best known players on the Miami Dolphin football team, along with some pretty well known players on other National Football League teams, have signed contracts to play for World Football League teams in Canada and Birmingham and Norfolk, places like that, but most of these same players will still be in the National Football League this coming season under old contracts, and we will not know until another season is past and a lot of rich people have sued each other what is really going to happen. Meanwhile, my fandom is somewhat shaken for the coming season.

The National Football League, sensing perhaps that some of us old fans are feeling shaky, has announced a sweeping series of rules changes for the coming season. Why does that also make me feel insecure?

Take another sport. Take women's golf. Do you remember when the first name of the dominant women's golfer was Babe? Do you realize that four of the top 16 golfers in the last woman's tournament all had the first name of Sandra? Time marches on.

If you are over 30, have you ever stopped to consider that the nicknames of four outstanding professional teams in New York are the Jets, Mets, Nets and Sets? Why does that bother me so?

Did you notice by the way, that the Cougars beat the Toros the other day, 3 to 2? What do you suppose that was all about?

RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

walk to school, which will surely invite greater abuses than now exist.

The proposal would limit students to ten tokens a week, whether or not they are taking special education courses that require extra trips.

The proposal would force high school students to make a special trip each month to pick up their tokens, but not provide them the extra tokens to do so.

The proposal would force parents of elementary school students to make a special

trip to pick up their children's tokens. They will not be given those tokens unless they themselves can show photographic identification.

The proposal would institute a picture-taking system that Assistant Superintendent Reed has admitted will be a "most time-consuming and difficult task" and which will require "the constant supervision of a teacher or administrator" and for which students will have to leave classes.

The transit company may be appreciative

of all this tender concern for its revenues, but I doubt that parents, who are concerned with the effective use of teachers' time and with maximum opportunities for their children in the classroom will be so appreciative. Parents will recognize that the so-called administrative convenience, efficiency and economy hailed by Superintendent Sizemore will embroil the schools in an administrative nightmare.

PACIFICA WAITS AND WAITS AND WAITS

The riot corridors, which have waited six years to be rebuilt, have a companion in patience. Two days before the 1968 riots, the Pacifica Foundation applied for an FM license here. Pacifica is the outfit that has been running free-form FM stations in other parts of the country that have brought unusually imaginative programming and the wrath of controversy-shy politicians in a number of cities including New York, Los Angeles and Houston. Although the other competitors for the local frequency have withdrawn, Pacifica's application hangs fire. The FCC appears scared to permit unfettered radio in the nation's capital. A recent issue of [MORE], the New York journalism review (PO Box 2971, Grand Central Station, NYC NY 10017) tells the full, grim story. It's worth reading.

GRAB A CHANNEL

If you want to go into the TV business, the license for much troubled Channel 14 is up for grabs. Apply at the Federal Communications Commission.

NEW BARKER FOR DOWNTOWN PROGRESS

The Star-News assigned its art critic Ben Forgey to do a four-part series on downtown Washington and the result was a more disreputable piece of puffery than you'd find even in the big dailies' real estate sections. It made Wolf Von Eckhardt look like a friend of the urban dweller. Back to the galleries, Ben.

SUBURBANITES FOR STATEHOOD

All Gollin's survey of metropolitan residents turned up surprising support for statehood in the suburbs — even more than the 14% tallied in DC. Outside the city, support for statehood ranged from 17% in Arlington and Alexandria to 20% in Montgomery County.

MARY'S OKAY

A few months ago, we mentioned that Mary Lanier was having health problems. She was, but not anywhere near as serious as we indicated. She's still doing catering and her other activities and is anxious to hear from persons who want the best spare-ribs in town and other Lanier specialties. Call 546-6487.



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